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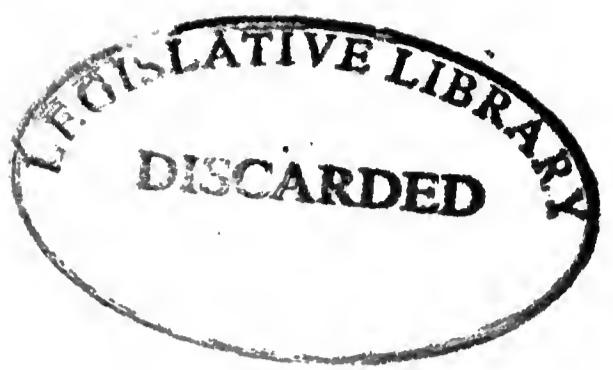




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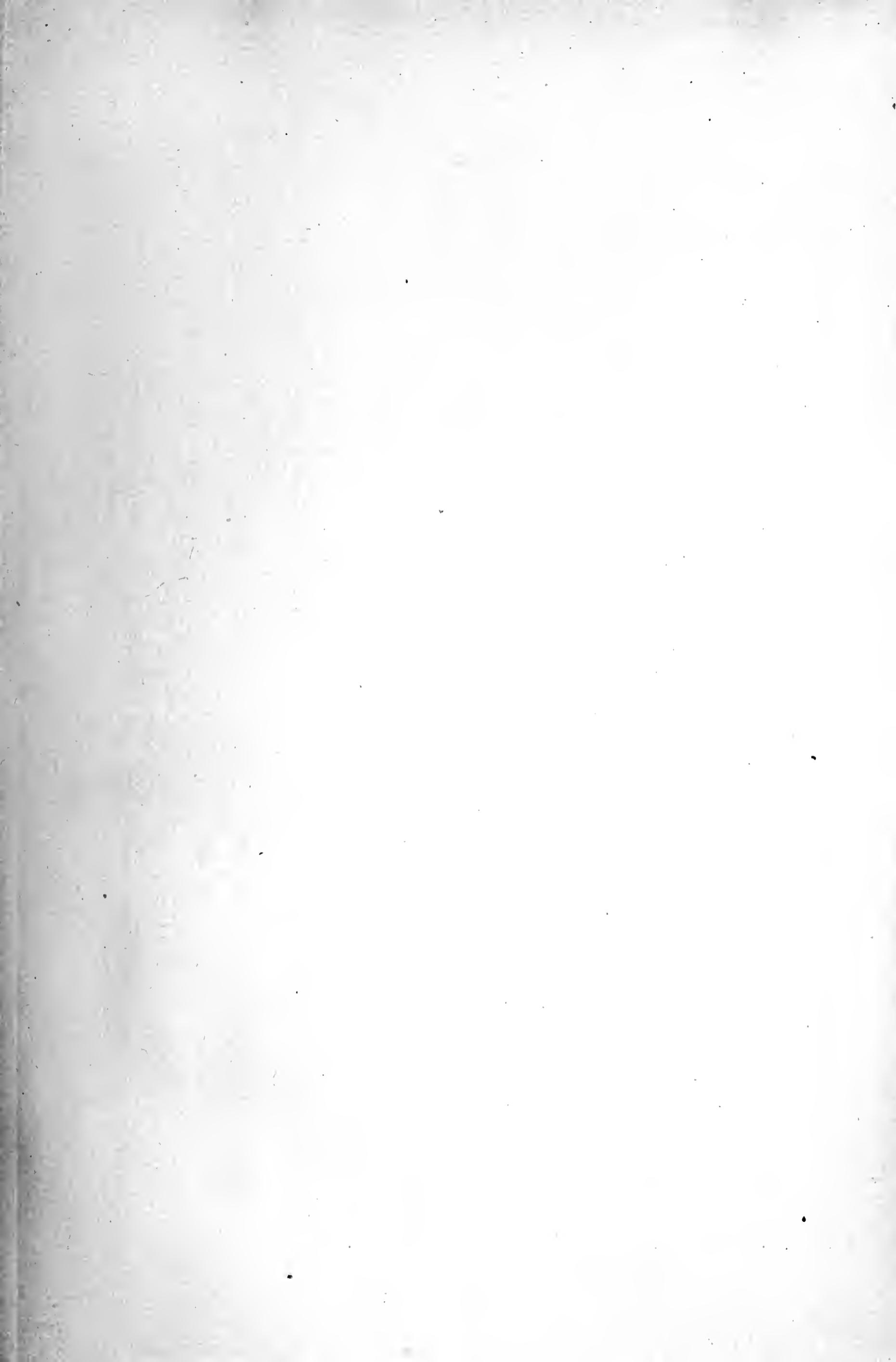
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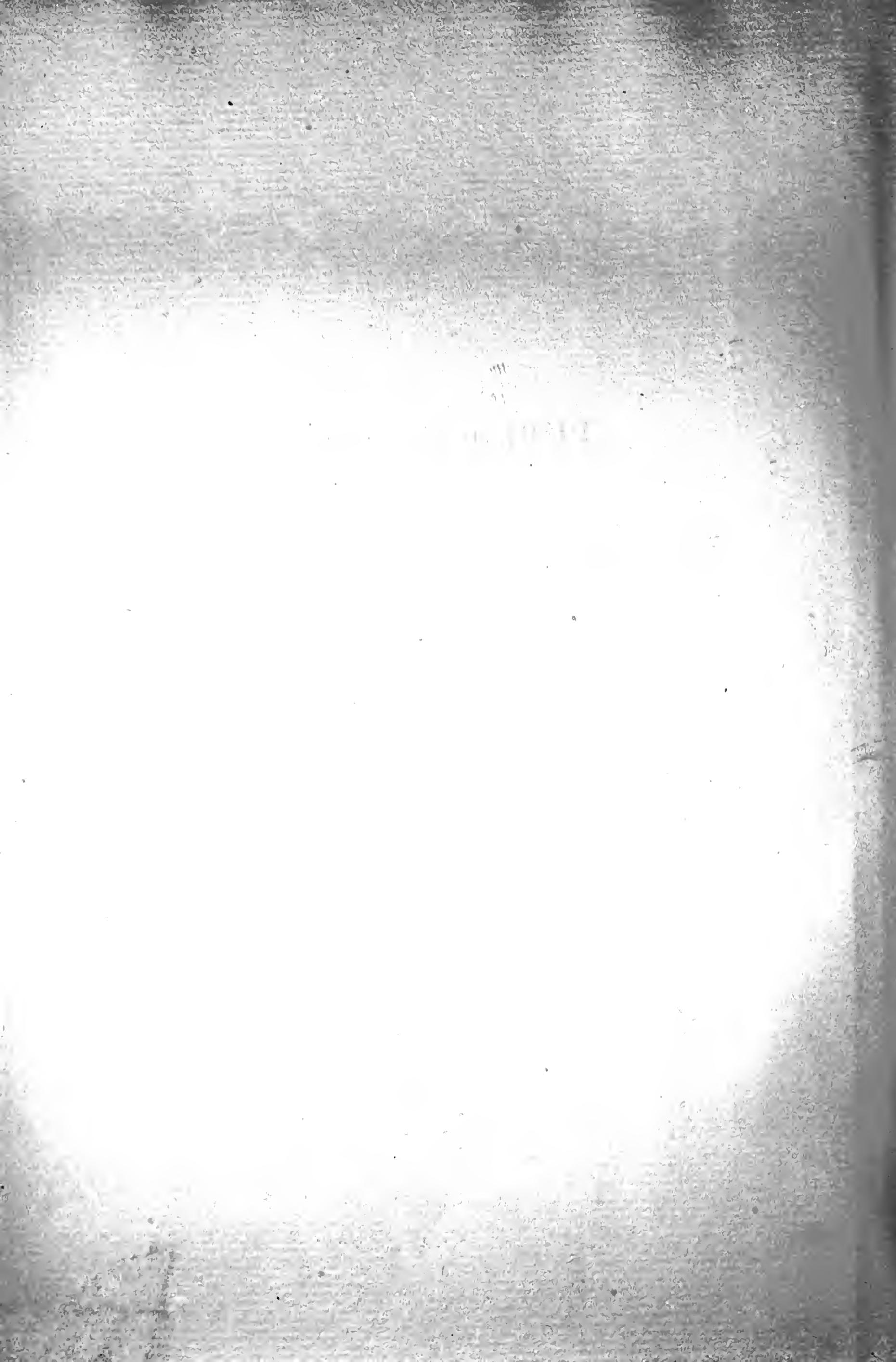
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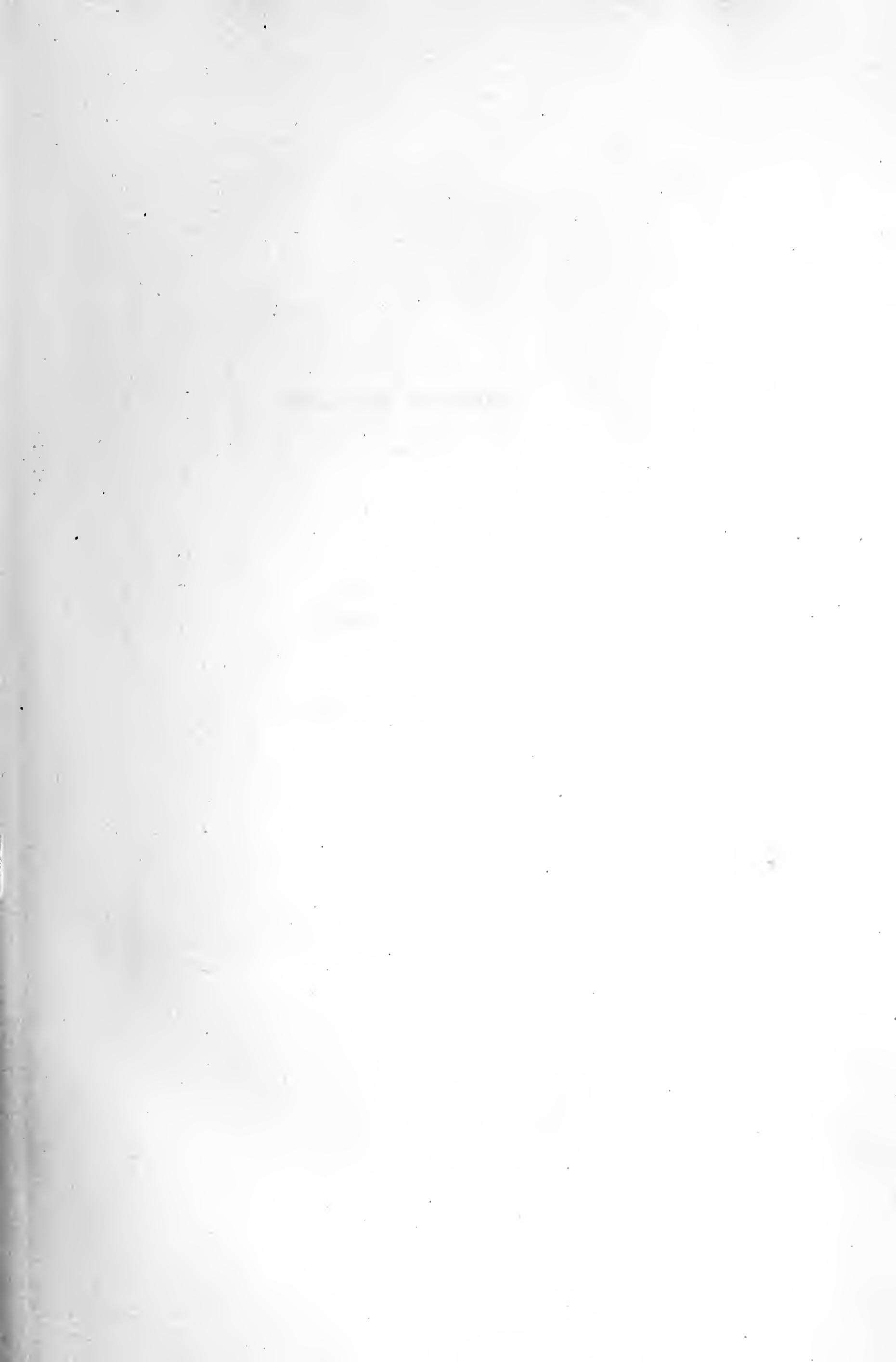
TRANSACTIONS

1910-1911

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James Barr Ames

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
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294⁵⁰

PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

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VOLUME XIII

TRANSACTIONS

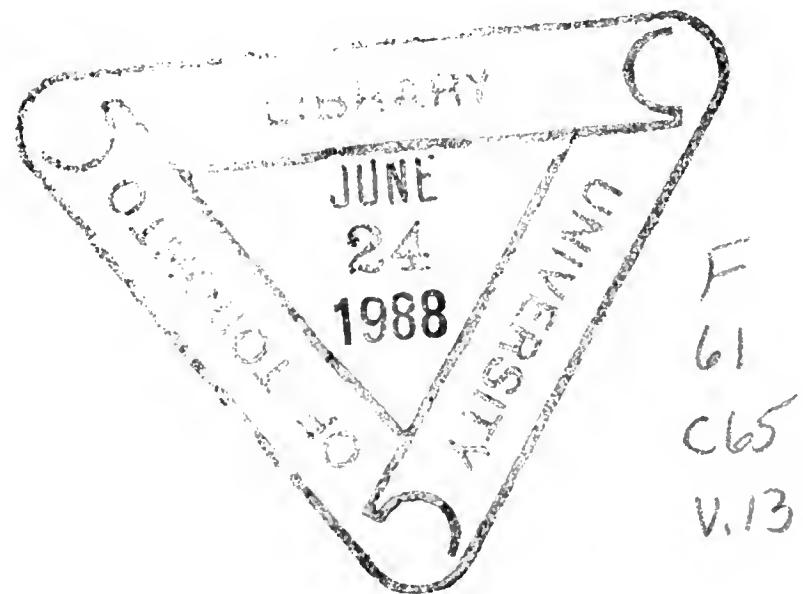
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PREFACE

VOLUME XIII, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at nine meetings, from January, 1910, to March, 1911, both included, in continuation of Volume XII.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to Mrs. James Barr Ames, the Earl of Dartmouth, Governor Eben Sumner Draper, Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, Mr. Alfred Dwight Foster, Mr. Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, Mr. Albert Matthews, Mr. Edward Percival Merritt, Mr. Herbert Putnam, Mr. Horace Everett Ware, the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library, the British Museum, the Dartmouth College Library, the Fogg Art Museum, the Harvard College Library, the Library of Congress, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New Hampshire Historical Society, the Petersham Public Library, the Public Record Office, London, and the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

For the Committee of Publication,

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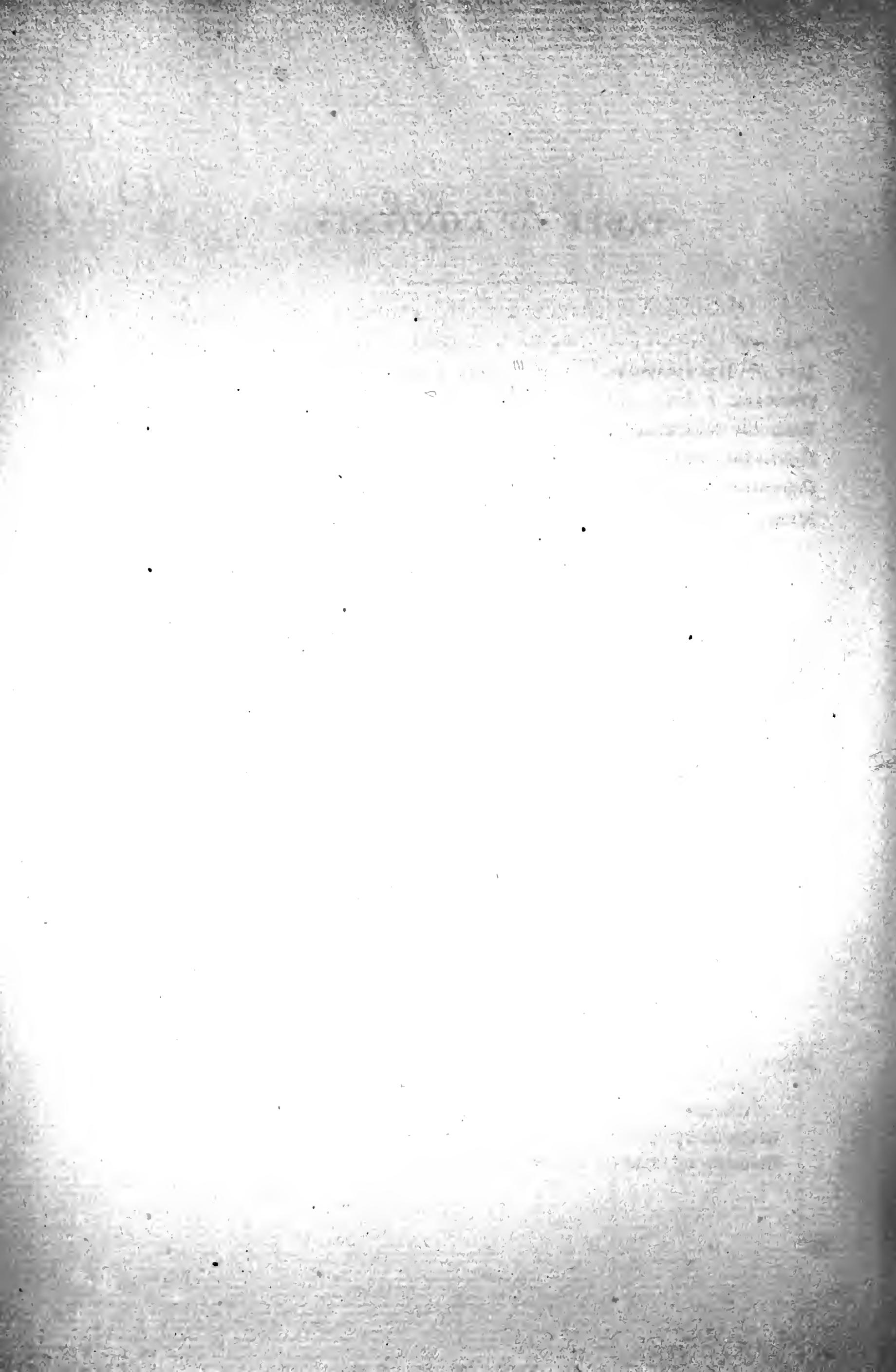


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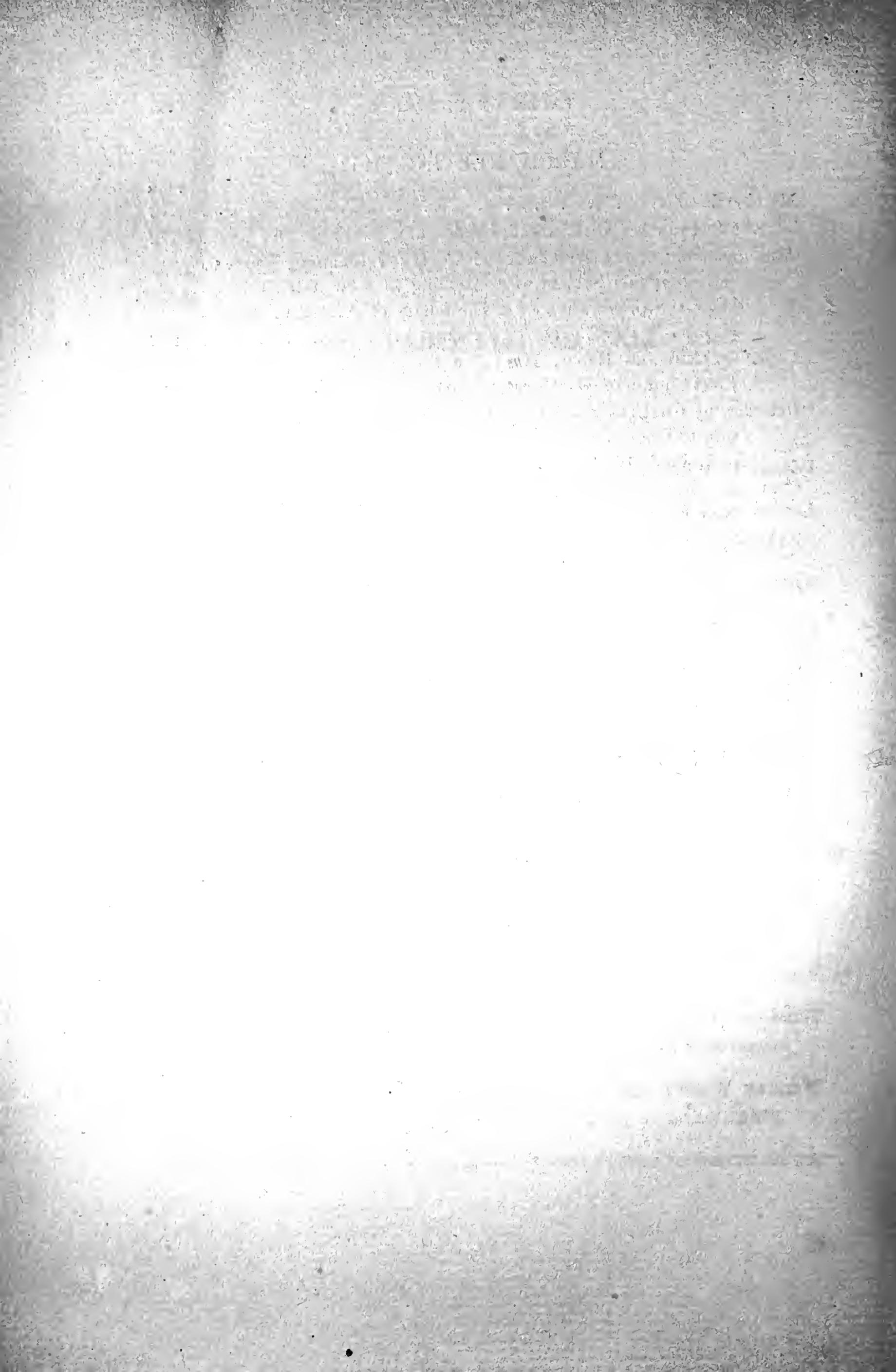
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1 JULY, 1911

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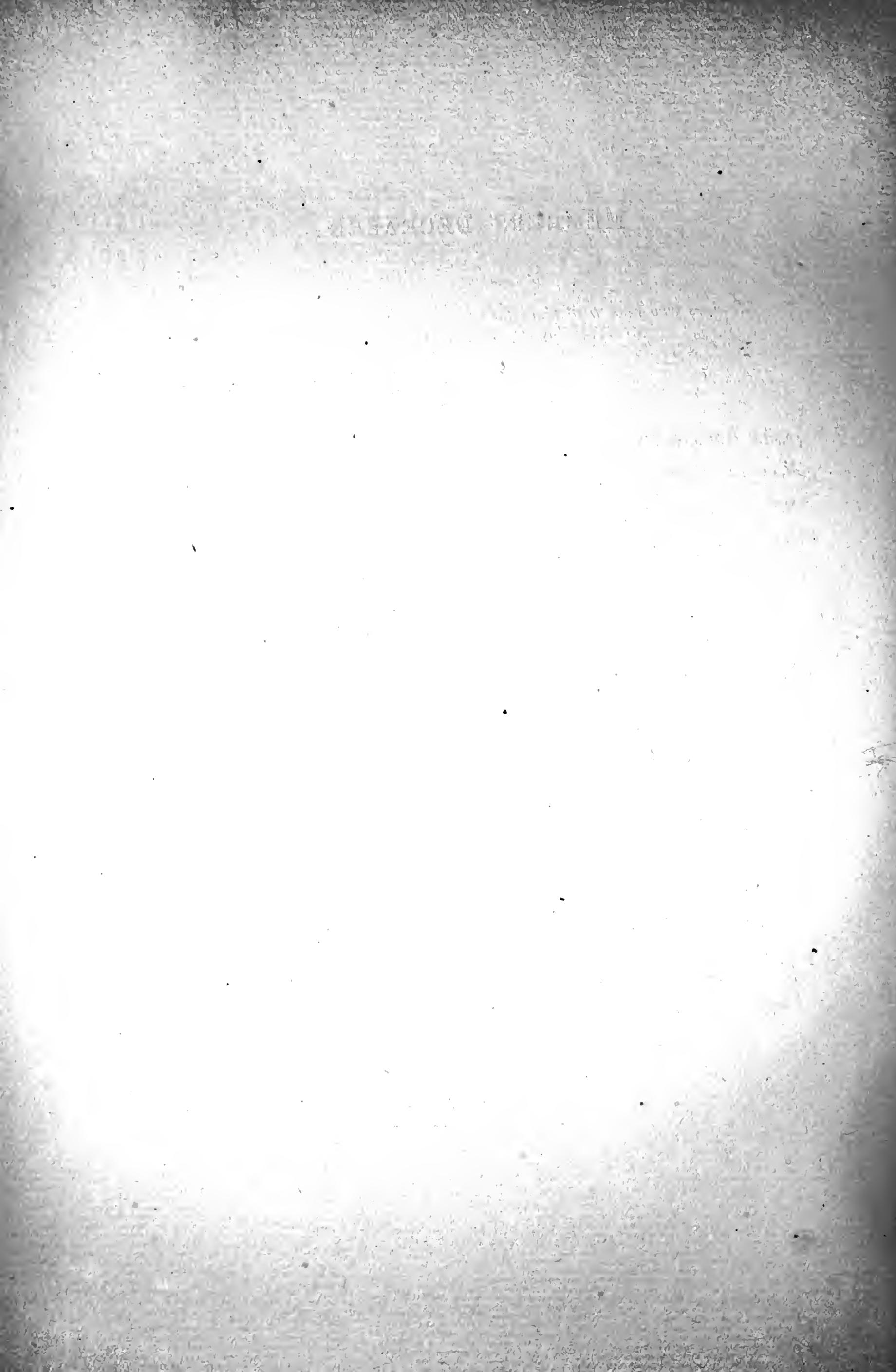
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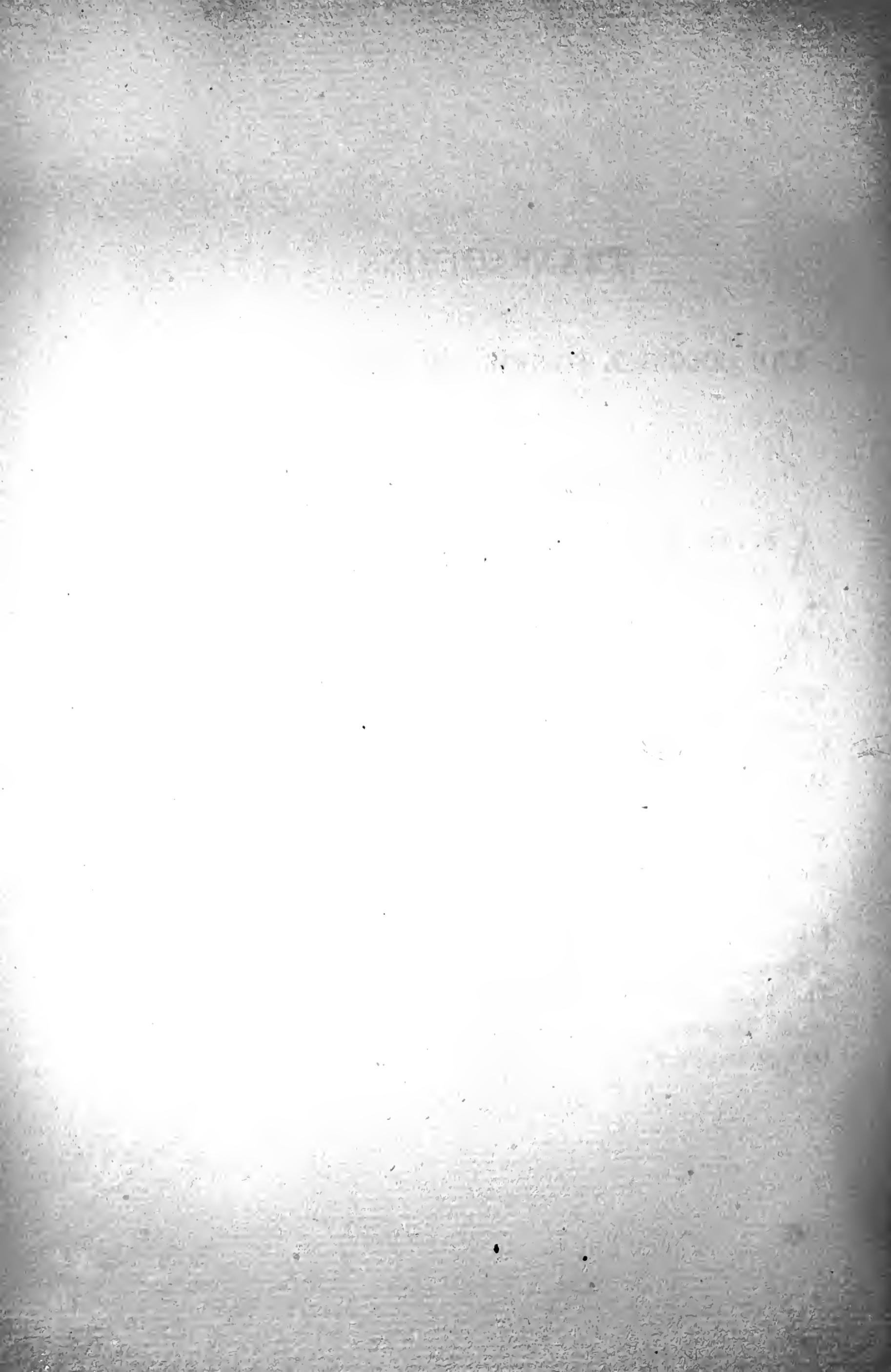
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Corresponding



TRANSACTIONS

1910-1911



TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

JANUARY MEETING, 1910

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 January, 1910, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from the Rev. Dr. EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE of Cambridge, and Mr. EZRA HENRY BAKER of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of GEORGE PARK FISHER, a Corresponding Member, and of JAMES BARR AMES, a Resident Member, and paid a tribute to their memory. The death of Dr. Fisher occurred at Litchfield, Connecticut, on 20 December, 1909; that of Mr. Ames at Wilton, New Hampshire, on 8 January, 1910.

Mr. ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS read the following paper:

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PUZZLE

Any person who examines critically the question of prosecutions for libellous publications during the days of the province will soon discover that the provincial government in the time of Governor Shute was especially active in its attempts to suppress publications of this sort, provided they were directed against the administration, and will readily see that the government, in its endeavors to carry out this policy, established, and so far as lay in its power temporarily enforced, a severe censorship of the press. This subject has been developed by Mr. Clyde A. Duniway in his *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*,¹ to which publication one may turn for details concerning the proceedings of this kind which then took place. Certain of them are closely connected with the bibliographical puzzle to which I wish to call your attention.

Hutchinson² refers to the events with which we have to deal in this connection, and his abstract of an answer made by the representatives to a speech of the governor brings the subject fairly before us. The governor had specifically recommended in his speech addressed to the general court March 15, 1721, that measures should be taken to prevent the publication of "factious and seditious" papers. To this the representatives replied — to quote from Hutchinson's account of the affair — that "the best way to suppress or prevent them is, for the executive part of the government to bring the authors to condign punishment; and if proper measures had been taken to discover and punish the authors of a libel, called *News from Robinson Crusoe's Island*, wherein the members of the house are grossly reflected upon, few or none would have dared afterwards to publish anything of that nature or tendency."

The title of the pamphlet which aroused the indignation of the representatives evidently pleased the publishers of the day, for several tracts were immediately thereafter issued which were dated at "Cruso's Island" or purported to have been printed at that place. Among these was *Reflections upon Reflections or more News from Robinson Cruso's Island*. Still another was entitled "New News from Robinson

¹ See pp. 94-95.

² *History of Massachusetts* (1795), ii. 222-223.

Cruso's Island in a Letter to a Gentleman at Portsmouth. Cruso's island, Printed in the Year 1720." "The Saddle set on the right horse. Cruso's island, 1721" was advertised at this time.

Some of these pamphlets dealt more or less with the currency question and the titles of most of them will be found in the Brinley Catalogue topically grouped by Mr. Trumbull under his collection of volumes devoted to the currency. News from the Moon, the specific tract that has caused the confusion and perplexity which we are considering to-day, did not bear the imprint, "Cruso's island," but its title will be found in the topical list just mentioned and it has been supposed to have had some connection with the legislative controversies of that time.¹ Number 1440 in Mr. Trumbull's list is "New News from Robinson Cruso's Island, in a Letter to a Gentleman at Portsmouth, (n. t. p.) pp. 8." Following this entry Mr. Trumbull quotes from Hutchinson the reference in the reply of the representatives to News from Robinson Cruso's Island which has already been given and concludes: "To that libel, the 'New News' etc., was perhaps a rejoinder."

The next entry in the Brinley Catalogue, Number 1441, was: "News from the Moon. A Review of the State of the *British Nation*, Vol. 7. Numb. 14. Page 53. — Tuesday, May 2, 1710. pp. 8. . . . 16° n. p., n. d. [Boston, J. Franklin, 1721?] A satire aimed, apparently, at the House of Representatives, for their proceedings against the publisher and printer of 'New News from Robinson Cruso's Island.'" It is to the various points which suggest themselves in connection with this latter entry that our investigation leads.

Sabin follows Trumbull in his mention of this tract,² and in his characterization of its contents. He refers, also, to an edition of 1772, but does not mention where a copy of it can be found.

Evans, in his American Bibliography, describes News from the Moon as from the press of J. Franklin in 1721, and characterizes the contents of the pamphlet as "A burlesque on the prosecution of

¹ It will be seen later that News from the Moon does not deal with the currency. Still another pamphlet classified as a currency pamphlet, viz. "English advice to the freeholders, etc. of the Massachusetts-Bay," may be cast out from this assignment. This latter pamphlet is to be found in the Library of Congress.

² Dictionary of Books relating to America, xiii. 322.

Benjamin Gray for ordering the printing of 'A Letter to an eminent clergy-man.'"¹

Volume XII of the Bulletin of the New York Public Library contains a "List of Works relating to Money and Banking." This work is included in No. 6, which appeared in June, 1908, where it is to be found on page 394, being there attributed to the Boston press of 1721.²

The foregoing entries compel the consideration of the source of News from the Moon; the determination whether it could have been possible that one of these ephemeral pamphlets could have been republished in 1772; the settlement, if possible, of the question whether it was from the Boston press; and the arrival at a conclusion whether Trumbull or Evans, or either of them, was right in his description of the character of the pamphlet.

First, as to the source of News from the Moon. As a preliminary to this investigation it was necessary to examine the nature of the pamphlet itself. The copy which was in the Brinley Library — perhaps the only one in existence — is now in the Lenox Library and it was easy to procure from that source a copy of its contents. The pamphlet opens with a reference to previous papers of the author describing his experiences in the lunar world and then goes on to narrate an incident purporting to have occurred there which was omitted from his former account. This dealt with the sufferings of a poor tailor who had made a coat that apparently fitted everybody so well that every person to whom it was shown claimed that it was made for him.

The title of the pamphlet refers to the Review of the State of the British Nation, by volume, number, page, and date, and it bears no other date than that given in this reference. The Review referred

¹ Evans gives the date of the Review, Tuesday, May 2, 1810. As the pamphlet is classified under date of 1721, this typographical error is of no importance.

² This list also includes, on page 393, "A brief account of the state of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, civil and ecclesiastical. By a lover of his country [Cotton Mather?] *Boston: T. Crump, 1717.* 8 p. 8°." The assignment of this pamphlet to a place among the currency pamphlets is an error, and the query whether it might have come from the pen of Cotton Mather may be answered in the negative. It is to be found among the works of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton (1672-1717), and seems to be merely a brief review of the form of government instituted under the province charter.

to was conducted by Daniel Defoe, and was started by him while in prison. In the year 1710 it appeared three times a week, and every copy is said to have been written by Defoe. It bore three names during its existence, the first indicating that it was devoted to a review of the state of affairs in France, the second to a similar inquest of the state of affairs of the English nation, and the third as given in the title of News from the Moon. It is stated in the Encyclopædia Britannica that there is but one perfect set of the Review in existence. Possibly what follows may raise doubts as to whether it can be said that there is a perfect set to be found anywhere.

An examination of the text of News from the Moon showed that it might well be what it purported to be. It refers to The Consolidator, a work published by Defoe in 1705, as being by the same author, and it deals with Lord Dukes, Lord Bishops, and Lord Mayors. There is, however, nothing in it which connects it with our local affairs.

While the subject was under consideration, I was informed that there was a copy of Volume VII of the Review in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. An examination of this volume failed to furnish answers to any of the questions raised, the set of the serial therein contained being very defective, Number 14 as well as many others in the series about that time having been removed. There was but one thing to do if the question was to be settled whether News from the Moon was actually a transcript from the Review, and that was to send to England and obtain a copy of Number 14, of date of May 2, 1710.

In response to an order to this effect came the reply from London that Number 14 of Volume VII in the British Museum was not dated May 2, but April 27, while the actual issue of May 2, 1710, was numbered 16. Fortunately the copyist to whom the order was given sent a copy of Number 16, the opening sentence of which is: "In my last I gave you an Account of the Misfortunes of a poor *Taylor*, who I had found dragg'd before the Courts of Justice, in a certain City I happen'd to pass through in my late Travels in the Lunar Regions; and indeed it was a hard Case, for as I was inform'd they did their Endeavour to ruin the poor Man, tho' at the same time all his Crime was, that having made a Coat for one Knave, it fitted Fourty." Here then was a practical announcement that Number 15 contained what we were in search of.

A copy of Number 15 which bore date April 29, 1710, was then procured and was found to correspond substantially with News from the Moon, with the exception that it had no other title than that of the Review. The reprint in the pamphlet was fairly faithful, most of the variations being of a minor character, and being evidently the result of the caprice or negligence of the compositor. One change was, however, obviously intentional. Defoe four or five times uses the epithet "Dog!" Wherever the word "dog" is used in the original it is stricken out in News from the Moon. The following is the copy obtained from the British Museum.¹

Vol. VII.

[57.]

Numb. 15

A
R E V I E W
OF THE
S T A T E
OF THE
B R I T I S H N A T I O N .

Saturday, April 29. 1710.

I Suppose, every Body, that knows any Thing of the Author of this Paper, knows, that when he having some Years ago travell'd a long Journey, and was carry'd up into the Lunar World in a well known Engine, contriv'd for Elevations by our Famous *High Church* Men, and which was call'd a *Consolidator*; at his Return he gave the World some Account of his curious Observations —— But one Story he never yet told, and which seems reserv'd to the present Occasion.

Be it known to you all then, That the last time I happen'd to be travelling to the World in the Moon, as I was passing thro' a great City about my lawful Occasions —— *What my Business was there, is nothing to any Body:* But I found the People in a great Hurry, dragging a poor

¹ A reprint of News from the Moon will be found in Colonial Currency Reprints (Prince Society), ii. 266–270.

Taylor away to one of their Courts of Justice —— *Lord have Mercy upon the poor Man thought I*, what will become of him? For he look'd to me just as an *English Presbyterian* would do, if he were got into the Hands of the *High-Church Rabble*; (*viz.*) Like a Man that expected to be murther'd by them.

Being mightily concern'd, you may be sure, to see the poor Man us'd thus, *I enquir'd who he was*, and what was the Crime for which he was thus treated —— I met with many Relations differing from one another about him, *for the People there tell the same Story a great many ways*, just as they do here, as the *Humour* takes them; but not [58] to trouble you with the several Relations of the Thing, the Substance of the Man's Case, it seems, was thus.

The Man, *as I told you*, was a *Taylor* by his Trade —— Now you are to understand, that tho' I did not find there was any of that foolish useless Sort of People call'd *Poets* there, yet they have *their Way* of satyrizing and ridiculing the Follies and Vices of the Place, as well as in other Countries; and it seems the *Taylors* are the *Satyrs* —— For when any Man, or Body of Men have play'd the *Fool*, or the *Knave*, or the *Coward*, or a *Drunkard*, or any vicious Prank —— He that has a Mind to lampoon him, goes to a *Taylor*, and gets *such a Coat made*, as such People are generally condemn'd to wear upon public Days, who upon Trial are found Guilty of such or such respective Crimes: This Coat is carry'd about the *Street*, and hang'd up, or shew'd particularly at or near the House of the Person, and is easily known by the Dimensions and Figures made upon it, who it belongs to —— And it is call'd in their Language a *Thocacterraca*, in *English*, a *Representer*, or a *Character-Coat*.

But you must remember too, that there are strict Laws any *Taylor* making these Coats for Persons innocent of the Follies describ'd; and when any transgress that way, they are severely punish'd, especially when they make a Coat for a Man, and upon trying it on, it does not fit him.

On the other hand, often times it happens, that when a Man makes a *Character-Coat* for one Man, it fits another, and sometimes a great many.

This is owing partly to the Ignorance of the *Taylor*, who does not take his Measure right —— And partly by Fools and Knaves, being *in that Country* very often *much like* one another; but more especially by the Ridiculous Folly of some Men, who when they see a Coat made, tho' it be the most ridiculing and most exposing thing in the World, they cannot forbear, but they will be *always trying it on*, and endeavouring to make it fit themselves, whether it will or no —— Nay they will stretch the Coat out of all manner of Shape, to see if they can make it fit them,

quite contrary to the *Taylor's Design*; as if knowing themselves to be Fools, they were desirous all the World, should know it too.

This is a great piece of Injustice to the *Taylor*, tho' perhaps it may be none to themselves; for I cannot believe, *but every Man IS just AS much a Knave as he would have the World believe him to be.*

Just thus it fared some Years ago, with the Author of the Paper called the *Review*, in the World *on this side the Moon* — When he happened in a Paper to be Painting out the Character of a State Mountebank, a City Hero, a Coward to his Cause, a Fool, a Knave, and a Ceserter of his Friends.

One said, d m the Dog, *that's at me*; another, *that's at me*; and the like; nay, that would not serve them — But they must bring in their Friends too, *who does he mean by that?* And *who does he mean by this?* — That such a Lord that blue List Man, is my L — and his Garter; That Deserter of his Friend, or that empty Headed Magistrate, is the L — d M — r; That Litigious Impertinent is Mr. *Hill* — d; That *High-Church* Buffoon, is *Par* — n *Hig* — s; and the like; when far was it from the Thoughts of tht poor Author, to do any of these Gentlemen so much Honour.

In like manner exactly it happened in the *Moon*; *the Story is this.*

There had been some very scandalous Fellow had done some ridiculous Thing, for which he deserv'd to be expos'd, and some People bespoke this *Taylor* to make a *Coat* for him — The *Coat* was wonderfully made indeed, every Side of it was singular; as you turn'd it *this way*, it look'd one thing, *that way* another; to one Eye-sight it represented *one thing*, to another *quite contrary*; and all agreed, that never such a *Coat* was made before: If you turn'd it this way it was *a Fool's Coat*, that way 'twas *a Knave's Coat*; on one side it represented a Lord Bishop, on the other side a Lord Duke; on another a Lord-M — r, on another a Clergy-man, on another a Thief; worn this way, it made a Man a [59] Statesman; that way a Mountebank; this way a General, that way a Coward; a strange Coat it was indeed, *as ever I saw in my Life.*

The Man that bespoke it, no sooner carry'd it about Streets, *as was usual in such cases*, but it rais'd a terrible Combustion in the Town; the People began to stare at one another, ar if they were frighted — The First that broke Silence was a huge tall Man, by his Appearance a Man of Grandeur, for he had a blue List upon his Coat, which in that Country none but a Few of the prime Nobility are permitted to wear — *What Dog's that?* Says he — *A Villain* — *A Rogue* — *Why that Coat's made for me;* and up he runs to the poor Man, and began to

bluster. *Pray, my Lord, Good, my Lord,* says the Man, *it is not made for your Highness,* it was made for my Neighbour Such-a-one — You lie you Villain, *says my Lord,* it was made for me, and I'll have you hang'd, *if there were no more Taylors in all the Moon* — *Indeed my Lord,* says the Man again, *it could not be made for you, for it will not fit your Lordship* — *I'll try that,* says his Lordship, *you Dog, and if it does, I'll have you hang'd immediately upon which my Lord put the Coat on* — But the poor Man was confounded, when he saw, that with but the least Stretching it fitted his Lordship to a Hair — and he expected Nothing but Death — My Lord went away raging, in order to send the Criminal Officers to take up the Man — But he might have sav'd himself the Labour, for the Coat was not carry'd much farther, but one cry'd, *that Dog has made this Coat for me;* another said, *no 'tis for me,* and almost every Body that saw it, challeng'd the Coat: *At last,* the Chief Magistrate of the Town happen'd to come along, and he fell in a Rage, and cry'd out with an Oath, *the Coat was for him:* Whereupon he immediately seiz'd it, and carry'd it into a great Assembly of that City, which was then sitting, *to complain of the Affront.* This Assembly is call'd in their Language the *Momonciculoc:* I will not pretend to Knowledge enough in the Lunar Language to translate it — Some think, it may resemble a *Common-Council* — Here he began to complain of the Affront, when of a sudden a great Combustion rose among them in the Hall of the Assembly; One said *the Coat is made for me,* another said *it is for me, and to be short with my Story,* no less than 114 of them challeng'd the poor Man for bringing this Coat out to expose them in particular.

The Man was in great Distress, and had no Way at last to bring himself out of this Broil, but by telling them the Name of the Taylor, who made the Coat — Which having done, he made his Escape, and the poor *Taylor* was sent for.

The *Taylor* was a bold Fellow, and fear'd no Colours — and immediately went to them upon the first Summons — And being brought before them, they examin'd him very strictly — And as near as I can remember, the Examination was as follows; he is brought into a large Closet, where they usually examine Witnesses, and the Coat being shew'd him, the *Clerk* appointed to examine him began the following Dialogue.

Clark. Did you make this Coat, Sir?

Taylor. Yes, I did.

C. Did you make it for a *Representer*, or Character-Coat?

T. Yes, Sir.



- C. Who was it to Represent?
- T. It was made to represent him that it represents, Sir.
- C. But who is that, Sir?
- T. Why I tell you, Sir, *Says the Taylor Briskly, him that it represents.*
- C. Well, but here are a great many Gentlemen who say it represents them.
- T. What all of them?
- C. Yes, all of them.
- T. It's strange, Men should be all K — s of like Dimensions.
- C. But how say you, *was it made to represent them?*
- T. If it represents them, *it must be made* to represent them.
- C. But did you design to represent them?
- T. What do you tell me of Designs, my Design was to make the *Coat*.
- C. But here is my Lord A — , he says the Coat represents him —
- T. Has he try'd it on, and *does it fit him?*
- C. Exactly.
- [60] T. 'Tis impossible — Pray look on the Coat; the Coat is a *Fools Coat*, and his Lordship is too much something else to be a F — l.
- C. But then it fits my L — B —
- F. That can't be neither; for turn it, and you'll see 'tis a *Knaves Coat*, and every Body knows my L — cannot be a Knave, it is not in his Head.
- C. But it may fit my Lord C —
- T. No it can't neither; for *turn it again*, and then 'tis a *States-man's Coat*, and it is well known, my Lord is no more a States-man than he is a Conjurer.
- C. Well, but *they may think it fits them.*
- T. Their own Guilt may do much, but 'tis not good Manners in me to think so.
- C. Well, but what say you to the rest of the Gentlemen that challenge it? Pray, give them Satisfaction.
- T. Why truly, as to 114 Gentlemen belonging to the Great Hall, if it fits them all I cannot help it, they may take it among them, and then every one will have his Share — 'Tis a strange thing, a Man cannot dress up a Monkey, but every man calls him Cousin.
- And with this he threw the *Coat* down in the Middle of the Hall.

The identification of Number 15 of Volume VII of the Review in the British Museum with *News from the Moon* seemed to relieve us from further consideration of this perplexing question. If the pamphlet was published in Boston in 1721, during the period when the feel-

ings of the governor and council on the one hand, and the representatives on the other, were respectively aroused by the attacks made upon them for their actions upon matters pending before them, it might well have been true that this reprint was made for the purpose of satirizing the authorities, and the confusion which might arise from a reference to a number antedating the true number of the Review from which the copy was made, and to a date posterior to the actual date of the original, might have been a part of the scheme of the publishers of the pamphlet. At this point, therefore, the search for knowledge of details concerning the original might and would have been abandoned, except for the fact that when the order for a copy of Number 15 was sent over to London, Mr. Albert Matthews asked me at the same time to procure for him a tabulated statement showing the dates and pagination of the several numbers in Volume VII of the Review. On reception of this tabulated statement he ventured the suggestion that there was an Edinburgh edition as well as a London edition of Volume VII. This would be a continuation of the Edinburgh edition of Volume VI, of which there is a copy in the Boston Athenæum. The British Museum edition was published in London in 1711. The edition in the American Antiquarian Society appears by its title-page to have been also published in London, the year of publication being 1711, but there is internal evidence that some of the numbers were printed in Edinburgh.

An examination of the copy of Volume VII at Worcester revealed the fact that the contents thereof were not identical with those of the London edition. We have already seen that the edition in the British Museum, Number 14, was issued April 27. In the Antiquarian Society's copy the series is complete up to Number 12, then there is a gap extending to Number 23. If, however, we examine the numbers, dates, and pages of certain of the copies that have been preserved, we find that Number 11 contains pages 41–44, while 12 has pages 45–48, showing that the series did not, so far as this volume was concerned, up to this point, violate the rule that each number should have four pages.¹ Number 11 is dated April 25;

¹ The bibliographers of the Review state that at first it was a weekly, then two copies were issued each week, and finally three.

Number 12, April 27; Number 13 would, therefore, have been issued April 29, covering pages 49-52; and Number 14, containing pages 53-56, must have appeared on Tuesday, May 2. It would seem, therefore, that the reference to the Review on the first page of News from the Moon must have been given in perfectly good faith.

This information solves the last doubt of those who are seeking to disclose the details concerning the origin of News from the Moon, but there remain several questions for future settlement by the bibliographers engaged in the study of Defoe's publications. A comparison of the two editions may disclose a motive for the changes to be found in their contents, and in any event are of sufficient importance to compel students of Defoe's publications to follow the matter to its end.

If we turn back to the entries made by the bibliographers in connection with News from the Moon, it will be observed that two different events are assigned, each of which is mentioned as furnishing a link which would connect this pamphlet with our local affairs. If there were anything in the pamphlet itself which referred to provincial politics, it would not be difficult to draw a conclusion as to whether both of these entries might be right, or if compelled to make choice between them, which would be the most probable. In the absence of any allusions in the pamphlet to the currency, to provincial politics, or to local social affairs, we must turn to the history of the time to determine, through such information as we have outside the pamphlet itself, whether either of the entries is entitled to stand.

Sabin probably merely copied Trumbull. We must, therefore, throw upon the latter exclusively the responsibility for the entry that the pamphlet was "a satire aimed, apparently, at the House of Representatives, for their proceedings against the publisher and printer of 'New News from Robinson Cruso's Island.'" If there were any proceedings taken against the publisher and printer of this pamphlet, of sufficient notoriety to call for the publication of a satire in consequence thereof, surely we ought to find some trace of them. Yet Mr. Duniway, who, in seeking for material for his Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, thoroughly overhauled the newspapers and the records of this period, makes no mention of any arrest or of any complaint against the publisher of New News from Robinson Cruso's

Island. This relieves us from further consideration of the validity of this particular entry, but the suggestion arises, Can we trace the source of Trumbull's error? Mr. Matthews has called my attention to the fact that Dr. Haven in his Catalogue of Ante-Revolutionary Publications, which is to be found in Volume II of the edition of Thomas's History of Printing in America, published by the American Antiquarian Society, mentioned News from the Moon, although he placed it under the year 1720.¹ He simply attributed it to the Boston press without specifying the printer. Dr. Haven also included in his list New News from Robinson Cruso's Island, and made the following comment: "No place or printer; but probably printed at Boston. The above is referred to in Felt's *Mass. Currency*, p. 77." Mr. Matthews suggests that this reference to Felt may lay bare the source of Mr. Trumbull's error, since the words of Felt, referred to by Dr. Haven, are: "They" — that is, the House of Representatives, whose reply to a speech of the governor he is then considering — "speak of a pamphlet against their proceeding of last session, called 'News from Robinson Cruso's Island.'" While this does not connect Mr. Trumbull with this confusion of the two pamphlets, it at any rate shows that Dr. Haven mixed the two titles, and made a reference under New News from Robinson Cruso's Island, which should have been under News from Robinson Cruso's Island. The similarity of the titles explains the error, and it is quite likely that Mr. Trumbull was misled by it. It is a curious fact indeed that the entries New News from Robinson Cruso's Island and News from the Moon in the Brinley Catalogue are close together upon the same page. Under the former there is a reference to what Hutchinson (II. 223) said concerning the proceedings alluded to by Felt, while under the latter the statement is made which has been quoted. It seems clear that Trumbull must have relied upon a secondary source for his authority.

Now, as to Mr. Evans's entry. There were proceedings instituted against Benjamin Gray for publishing the Letter to an eminent Clergyman, and the order of council of February 28, 1721, instructing the attorney-general to prosecute him for the publication of this

¹ The identity of the name of the compiler of this list with that of his father, the famous Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, will explain the confusion which exists as to the authorship of the Catalogue.

pamphlet was published in the Boston Gazette, March 6, 1721. It is evident from the records of the superior court of judicature cited by Mr. Duniway, in his Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, that the attorney-general followed his instructions and sought to procure an indictment against Gray for this publication. In his proceedings before the grand jury he coupled with this alleged ground of complaint the additional plea "for causing an advertisement to be printed in contempt of a vote of the Council."¹ This advertisement was apparently the one which appeared in the Boston Gazette, March 13, 1721, and which read as follows:

Just Published, The Mount Hope Packet. And News from the Moon, both to be sold by Benjamin Gray, Bookseller, at his Shop Opposite to the Brick Church, where all Gentlemen, Trades-men and others may be supply'd by Wholesail or Retail at reasonable rates, with all the Letters, Postscripts, News, Dialogues and other Pamphlets, which come out from Time to Time.

The return of the grand jury in which they found "no bill" is entered in the records of the court, May, 2, 1721, and is given by Mr. Duniway in this connection in his Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, together with Gray's apology to the council and his expression of "sorrow for what he had done amiss."

Attention has been called to the fact that on the pamphlet itself there was but one date, that purporting to be the date of De Foe's original article, and no explanation has been offered for the action of the bibliographers in attributing the publication to the Boston press, or more specifically to J. Franklin, nor to the assignment of its publication to the years 1720 or 1721. This advertisement clearly justifies the attribution to the Boston press, and fixes the year of publication as 1721. The confusion between 1720 and 1721 is of course attributable to the use of Old Style or New Style, a confusion which requires constant watchfulness when dealing with events which occurred before March 25 in any year of this period. The specific attribution to the press of J. Franklin may have been the result of a careful examination of the font of type and the various ornaments used in the pamphlet.

¹ See Duniway's Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, p. 94.

There is one more question to be considered, and that is, Was there an edition of this pamphlet published in 1772? I was informed that this 1772 edition could be found in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, however, assures me that the supposed second edition is a 12mo of sixteen pages which was apparently written to satirize "the Knavery, Deceit, Prodigality, Envy, and Tattling of the day." Its title was "News / from the / Moon / containing / a brief account of the manners and customs / of the Inhabitants / Very suitable to the Present times. / Boston / Printed and sold at the Printing Office near the Mill- / Bridge. 1772." With this information the 1772 edition probably disappears, and we are compelled to rely upon what has gone before to determine which conclusion we shall adopt as to the credibility of the references of the bibliographers.

It is plain that Mr. Evans's conjecture had some foundation to stand upon, while it is clear that Mr. Trumbull, ordinarily so accurate, was misled in some way, probably by the error which crept into Dr. Haven's list. The question, How could a reprint of an article by Defoe be of value in the polemics of that day? remains still a mystery. If we run our eyes back upon the pamphlets printed during this discussion and note the allusions to the "sulled sheet," to the "Rabshikahs," and to the "Don Dago, etc.," we can see that subtlety was not the characteristic feature of this controversy. How then could it be possible that the general public could appreciate the application of Defoe's satire to a new situation sufficiently to justify its re-publication? These questions we may not be able satisfactorily to solve, but the fact remains that the article was reprinted, and that it evidently was in some way made use of in the polemical discussions of the day.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS stated that his interest in Defoe's Review had been aroused by Mr. Davis; that he had sought in vain in the biographies of Defoe, in bibliographies and in catalogues, for information in regard to the Edinburgh edition of Volumes VI and VII of the Review; and described some of the differences between the Edinburgh and the London editions of those volumes.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE read the following paper:

GEORGE STIRK, MINISTER

Mr. George Stirk, minister of the Church of England in Bermuda, is of interest to us because he was the father of George Stirk (otherwise called Starkey), who graduated at Harvard College in 1646, practised medicine in Boston from 1647 to 1650, and went to England in 1651, where he became distinguished as a physician and alchemist and died of the plague in 1665. Apart from this consideration, the career of the Bermuda minister exhibits many curious details of clerical life in a struggling American colony. An investigation of New England alchemy and alchemists has led me to study the career of the elder Stirk with some care, and I find that it has never been treated with either fulness or accuracy. This must serve as my excuse for setting forth the facts as I understand them. In so doing, however, I wish to acknowledge, in the amplest way, my obligations to the records printed in the standard work of Sir J. H. Lefroy, for without them I could have accomplished nothing whatever.¹

The Rev. George Stirk was born in Scotland. For this we have the direct testimony of Captain Roger Wood, who was Governor of the Bermudas for six years following December, 1629. In a letter written in 1633 or 1634 to Dr. William Ames, the famous Calvinist theologian,² Wood says expressly that the two ministers then residing in the Bermudas, "Georg. Stirke" and "Patricke Coapland," were "both Scottish men."³ Mr. Stirk must have been born about 1595, for he was forty years old in 1635.⁴

¹ Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 1515–1685, compiled from the Colonial Records and other Original Sources by Major-General J. H. Lefroy, sometime Governor of the Bermudas. London, 2 vols., 1877–1879. All references in my footnotes are to this work unless the contrary is indicated.

² Lefroy thinks this letter was written to the Rev. Nathaniel Bernard (i. 535), but see pp. 60–69, below, where also the date of the letter is discussed. On Stirk's Scottish nationality cf. also another letter of Wood's, probably of 1632 (i. 532), which alone might not be decisive. Our associate, Mr. Charles K. Bolton, has called my attention to a mention of Mr. Stirk in C. A. Hanna's Scotch Irish, ii. 6. Hanna adds nothing to Wood's testimony.

³ i. 536.

⁴ See p. 52, below.

Mr. Stirk, as he informs us himself, was one of four ministers sent to the islands by the Bermuda Company along with Governor John Bernard.¹ Governor Bernard arrived in November, 1622, with two ships and about a hundred and forty settlers.² The other three

¹ Stirk's MS. petition, Manchester Papers, No. 422 (Public Record Office, London), printed below (p. 49) for the first time: "The booke of Orders sayeth. Article 154. That the Ministers shall haue soe much yearly, as the Company, & they shall agree vpon. And in the Court twelue yeares agoe, they agreed vpon 100 markes, & wth this condition sent fower Ministers wth Capt Bernard of w^{ch} I was one."

Lefroy formerly dentified Mr. Stirk with an unnamed minister sent to the Bermudas in 1619 in the *Sea-flower*. Captain John Smith writes that, shortly after the election of Captain Nathaniel Butler to the governorship, the Company "tooke the opportunitie of a ship, called the *Sea-flower*, bound for Virginia, and by her sent [to Bermuda] a Preacher and his Family, with diuers Passengers, and newes of a new Governor" (*Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, 1624, book v. p. 190). Smith is following Butler's History: "The Company of Adventurers in England, presently vpon Captaine Butlers election, tooke the opportunitie of a shyp that was to goe for Virginia, and vpon her shypped diuers passengers for the Sommer Islands, and among the rest, a preacher and his family," etc. (*Historye of the Bermudaes*, edited by Lefroy, Hakluyt Society, 1882, pp. 141-142). In his edition of Butler's work Lefroy corrected his own previous identification of the *Sea-flower* man with Mr. Stirk, finding Lang's name ("Mr. Lang") in two documents in Butler's History, — a letter from the Company to Butler, 1620, and Butler's reply, in the same year (pp. 212, 221). Lefroy remarks that "there is no record of such a minister in Bermuda" (p. 142 note). The *Sea-flower* arrived in July, 1619 (Butler, p. 142). There are various documents (unknown to Lefroy) about Lang among the Duke of Manchester's papers in the Public Record Office, — a letter of August 12, 1619, from Mr. Lewes Hughes to Sir Nathaniel Rich ("Mr. Lang and his wife are in good health; God send us more such.") MS. No. 252 in the catalogue printed in the Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1881, Appendix, part ii. p. 34); two letters from the same to the same, [January, 1620] and February 12, 1620 (MSS. Nos. 262, 265, p. 34); a letter from Lang to Rich, October 16, 1620 (MS. No. 277, p. 35); a letter from Butler to Rich, January 12, 1620 (not 1621, see p. 21 note 1, below) (MS. No. 289, p. 37). Lang's Christian name (Samuel) appears only in his own letter of October 16, 1620 (MS. No. 277, p. 35). Cf. Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 192.

The above-cited *Historye of the Bermudaes*, which is anonymous (Sloane MS. 750, British Museum), was ascribed by its editor, General Lefroy, to Captain John Smith. In 1884 Arber said that Smith was "clearly not the Author of that manuscript, which was written apparently by a Governor previous to Governor Butler; ? by Governor Tucker" (*Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 624). It was, however, certainly the work of Governor Nathaniel Butler (E. J. L. Scott, Index to the Sloane Manuscripts, p. 69; E. Delmar Morgan, *Athenæum*, December 24, 1892, p. 891, *Academy*, December 31, 1892, p. 609).

² Captain John Smith says that Governor Bernard "arrived within eight days

ministers were Nathaniel Bernard (doubtless a kinsman of the new Governor's), Joseph Wright, and Robert Staples.¹ Mr. Wright died before the first of January, 1623.² Mr. Nathaniel Bernard, Mr.

after *Butlers* departure, with two ships, and about one hundred and forty passengers" (*Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, 1624, p. 200). *Butler's* departure, according to a contemporary record (Lefroy, i. 253) took place "about the 25th of October," 1622. Bernard's commission is dated September 1, 1622 (i. 261, 264).

¹ Nathaniel Bernard and Joseph Wright are mentioned as "chosen to be ministers and preachers in the said [sc. "the Som^r"] Islands" in a commission of September 5, 1622 (i. 258), which also mentions Captain John Bernard as Governor elect. We do not know positively when Staples sailed, but it was later than May, 1622 (*Records of the Virginia Company*, edited by Susan Myrick Kingsbury, i. 535, 544, 635; cf. E. D. Neill, *English Colonization of America*, pp. 323-324; Neill, *History of the Virginia Company*, pp. 259, 378-379; Lefroy, i. 707). In a list of "all such as were present" at the General Assembly of the Bermudas in May, 1623, we find, under the head of "The Ministers," three names "M^r Nathaniell Bernard," "M^r Robert Staples," and "M^r George Stirke" (i. 316-317).

² Lefroy says nothing of Mr. Wright's death, remarking simply (i. 713) that "his name has only been found in the commission" of September 5, 1622 (see note 1, above). But some minister certainly died in the islands soon after Governor Bernard's arrival and before Governor Bernard's own decease, which occurred only six weeks after the latter reached his post (Smith, p. 200) and (consequently) in December, 1622 (note also that Governor Bernard was alive, though weak, on December 18, 1622, and that his successor, Captain John Harrison, issued a proclamation on January 1, 1623: i. 278-280). This death of a minister is mentioned by Harrison in a proclamation for a general fast, January 29, 1623: "God . . . beginninge to take from us the Angell of our Churches sent to breake unto us the bread of life, and last of all strikinge at the verye head our late worthye Governor and his wyfe, both buried in one day" (i. 282). Wright must be the person meant, for it is quite evident that Harrison's words cannot apply to any of the three preachers who had been in the Bermuda Company's service before Bernard's administration, — George Keith (Keath, Keth), Lewes Hughes (Hewes), and Samuel Lang. Keith had left the islands in 1617 and settled in Virginia. (Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 172; Burk, *History of Virginia*, 1804, i. 337; Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, ii. 934; Brown, *First Republic in America*, pp. 624, 631; *Virginia Magazine*, iii. 279-280, xvi. 14.) Hughes left the Bermudas before the end of Harrison's administration, i. e., before October, 1623 (i. 335), as is clear from a letter of Woodhouse's (i. 349), and that this withdrawal took place before April, 1623, is extremely probable (cf. what Woodhouse says about Hughes's salt-pans with Harrison's order of April 8, 1623: i. 349-350, 289). He was alive in England years after (i. 349-350, ii. 586-587; Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, pp. 191-192; cf. Butler, p. 112). Lang had either died or left the islands before the end of 1622. This is inferential, but certain. In the autumn of that year the colonists drew up a statement of grievances which they put into Governor Butler's hands and which he delivered to the Company in

Staples, and Mr. Stirk are on record as present at the General Assembly in May, 1623.¹

At about this time — pretty certainly in 1623 — laws were passed for the election of churchwardens and sidesmen, whose duties are carefully defined.² Among other necessities for public worship, they were to provide “a Booke of comon prayer of the last edition.”³ This is only one of several indications that the appointment of Governor Bernard and the four ministers who accompanied him was meant to put an end to previous irregularities. In 1617, Mr. Lewes Hughes, then sole minister, had written to England as follows: “The ceremonies are in no request, nor the Book of Common Prayer, I use it not at all.” He had likewise, he says, “begun a Church Government by Minister and Elders.” He had also sent to England, in manuscript, “the manner of the public service of God that I do use here.”⁴ In the next year (1618) Hughes sent to England a complete liturgy for use in the Bermudas, of his own composition,⁵ and again, also in 1618, he wrote a letter explaining his reasons for abandoning the prayer-book.⁶ These innovations were allowed by Captain Daniel

England in 1623 (Manchester MS. No. 295, p. 37; cf. No. 294; Lefroy, i. 275–276; Butler, p. 294; Smith, p. 199). They complain that there have never been more than two ministers in the Bermudas at once, and sometimes (*as at present*) only one. Their complaint is borne out by the Company’s instructions to Governor Daniel Tucker, February 15, 1616 (i. 107), and by various passages in Butler (pp. 24, 49 ff, 55 ff, 72–73, 149, 152) and Smith (pp. 178, 181, 191, 192), as well as by the Manchester MSS. (Nos. 209, 229, 233, 252, 262, 265, 289). Mr. Hughes signs this memorial (MS. No. 295). Therefore, since Hughes was the only minister in the service at the time, Lang had either died or (more probably) had left the islands.

¹ i. 317. It is not surprising that the ministers are not named in the records (which are imperfect anyway) between the arrival of Governor Bernard and this time. The public business had been sadly interrupted by the death of the Governor and the “great sicknesse” of his successor, Harrison (i. 296), so that the Assembly called for December 10, 1622 (i. 267), was not held until the following May.

² i. 317–321.

³ i. 318.

⁴ MS. No. 209, May 19, 1617, Eighth Report, pp. 31–32; cf. Lefroy, i. 469.

⁵ It is in the Public Record Office, among the Duke of Manchester’s papers (MS. No. 234, March, 1618, cf. MS. No. 233, Report, p. 33), and is printed, in part, by Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 1885, pp. 205–207. Hughes’s covering letter of March, 1618 (MS. No. 233), is also printed by Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, pp. 187–190.

⁶ MS. No. 239 December 15, 1618, Report, p. 33; printed by Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, pp. 190–191.

Tucker, the Governor, because (so Tucker writes) the minister was "of so peevish a disposition" that, if thwarted, he would leave the colonists without any religious services at all.¹

This curious state of things under Tucker's administration explains the fact that his successor, Governor Nathaniel Butler, thought it necessary, in 1620, to take measures in the interest of uniformity. We have a full account of his proceedings in his own History of the Bermudas. "Neither of his two ministers," Hughes and Lang, "would by any meanes subscribe nor vse the booke of common prayer, or liturgie of England." Besides, they disagreed with each other "in the formes of administration of the sacraments and marriage." "He at last bethought himselfe of the liturgie vsed in the Ilands of Garnesey and Jarsye, the which being of his maiesties dominions, and by him tollorated, he conceiued would not be ill-taken if (for the time) he putt it in practice there." He therefore proposed "the punctuall vse and practise of that forme in the vse of the sacraments and marriage which was vsed within His Maiesties dominions in Jarsye and Garnsy, beinge one and the uery same with that of the French Protestants, thoes of the vnited prouinces, and even Geneua it selfe." This proposition was "gladsomely receiued by both the ministers, who instantly promised the Gouernour all conformitie in the acceptance and vnitie in the practice. Wherevpon he himselfe translateinge it verbatim into English, out of a French Bible which he brought ouer with him, he caused the elder minister² to begin the vse therof at the administration of the Lords Supper, at St. Georges,³ vpon Easter Day next followeing⁴ And this forme was generally obserued throughout the whole Ilands (the Gouernour endureinge noe variation) in thes particulers of the sacraments and marriage all the time of his gouernment ther."⁵

Two letters preserved among the Duke of Manchester's papers illustrate this queer bit of ecclesiastical history. The first, from the

¹ MS. No. 229, March 10, 1618, Report, p. 33.

² Mr. Lewes Hughes was the older of the two ministers.

³ Where the colonial Governor resided.

⁴ Easter, 1620.

⁵ Butler, pp. 171-173. Captain John Smith (p. 192) has a condensed account of these transactions, obviously adapted from Butler's MS. It is not so clear as Butler's narrative, and naturally misled Lefroy (i. 151 note, 678-686), who afterwards corrected his own mistake (ii. 588-591).

Governor to Sir Nathaniel Rich, was written January 12, 1620, before he had brought about uniformity in this ingenious way. It tells us that the ministers did not agree well, but that Hughes was more reasonable than Lang, since Lang, being "more young" was "more wilful."¹ The second, from Hughes to Rich, March 16, 1620, remarks that the Governor has introduced a translation of the Genevan "forme of ministring the sacraments and of mariages."²

Mr. Stirk, of course, had nothing to do with the ceremonial innovations which we have been considering. Yet it is proper to mention them, for the practice of Genevan forms during Butler's administration, and the general nonconformity of Hughes and Lang, go far to explain their being superseded, on the appointment of Governor John Bernard, in 1622, by an entirely new corps of ministers, — Nathaniel Bernard, Joseph Wright, Robert Staples, and George Stirk.³ We can now understand why, in 1623, it was necessary to pass a law for the election of churchwardens and sidesmen and to prescribe, among other duties, that they shall "take care and p[ro]uide that the churches be . . . furnished wth . . . a Booke of comon prayer of

¹ MS. No. 289, Eighth Report, p. 37. This letter bears the date "Jan. 12, 1620." The cataloguer remarks "*i. e.*, 1620–1, but endorsed 1619, perhaps correctly." There can be no doubt that the letter was written in January, 1619–20, for Butler uses the "historical" rather than the "legal" style elsewhere. See his History, p. 162, where "the 23rd of January, an. 1620," means not 1620–21 but 1619–20. The contemporary who endorsed the letter "1619" was of course using the "legal" style, and meant 1619–20. Thus there is no real conflict between the date of the letter and the date of the endorsement. Beyond question the letter went to England by the ship Garland, which sailed about January 23, 1620 (Butler, p. 162, cf. p. 209).

² In a postscript. The body of the letter was written February 12, 1620, and includes complaints of Mr. Lang's conduct (MS. No. 265, Report, p. 34).

³ That the new administration was meant to settle church affairs on a more satisfactory basis is shown by the Orders and Constitutions adopted by the Company on February 6, 1622, where it is stated that there are to be four ministers (§ 154, *i. 212*). As we have seen, there had never been more than two (p. 18 note 2, above). Mr. Stirk's petition shows that the full complement crossed the sea with Governor Bernard near the end of the year (p. 49, below). See also the Governor's proclamation of December 7, 1622 (*i. 277*). It appears from a passage in Smith (p. 199) that Mr. Lewes Hughes did not leave the islands with Butler in October, 1622 (cf. p. 18 note 2, above). If, as seems likely, he remained there (as sole minister) until Governor Bernard's arrival, he was of course superseded by the newcomers. On February 12, 1620, Hughes wrote to Sir Nathaniel Rich: "I lik so well of Captaine Butler . . . as I am more than halfe minded to stay out his time" (Manchester Papers, MS. No. 265).

the last edition.”¹ The intention was to bring Bermuda once more into conformity with the Church of England. Mr. Stirk, then, though a high Calvinist,² was under no suspicion of nonconformity. In fact, there is no reason whatever to believe that, throughout his life, he ever came into collision with the episcopal authorities at home.³

In 1623, as we have seen, Mr. Stirk was a settled minister in the Bermudas. His parish was Southampton Tribe,⁴ in the western part

¹ i. 318-319.

² See p. 50, below.

³ Of his colleagues, Mr. Copeland renounced his orders in 1644 and became an elder of Mr. Nathaniel White’s independent church (i. 585, 610, 617, 624, 626, 627, 697); and Mr. Nathaniel Bernard, after returning to England, and becoming a lecturer at St. Sepulchre’s, London, got into trouble with Laud on account of a prayer that he offered at St. Antholin’s Church on May 3, 1629, and a sermon that he preached at St. Mary’s, Cambridge, on May 6, 1632. For the second offence he was suspended, fined £1000, and imprisoned. This case was one of the principal specific charges brought against Laud by the Commons in 1644 (Prynne, Canterburies Doome, 1646, pp. 362-367, 535-536; Rushworth, Collections, ii. 32, 140-142; Laud, Troubles and Tryal, 1694, p. 371; Prince, Annals, May 6, 1632; Brook, Puritans, ii. 400-404; Gardiner, History of England 1603-1642, ed. 1899, vii. 250-251). On March 7, 1642-43, shortly before Laud’s trial, Parliament ordered a writ of habeas corpus for the removal of “Nath. Barnard” and others from Newcastle prison (Commons’ Journals, ii. 992; Lefroy, i. 692). I do not remember that the Nathaniel Bernard prosecuted by Laud in 1632 has ever been identified with the Bermuda clergyman. My identification, however, is made practically certain by a letter from Governor Roger Wood, 1634, to an unnamed minister then in England but formerly settled at St. George’s in the Bermudas (i. 540-542). Wood writes: “It pleased God in his providence to guide your tongue vnto such a strayne at Cambridge that swept you out of all your former imaginations and dreames of lyving at ease in Syon and for to make you more sensible off it the Highe Priest hath banished you forth of his jurisdiction.” He also speaks of the “sylencing” of his correspondent (i. 541). Lefroy, without being aware of Bernard’s sermon at Cambridge and his prosecution in 1632, rightly supposed that this letter was intended for the former Bermuda minister (i. 542), though he was in error in holding the same opinion about another letter of Wood’s (i. 535; see pp. 60-69, below).

What Mr. Stirk, who died in 1637, might have done if he had lived until 1644 it is idle to conjecture. We may note, however, that his father-in-law, Stephen Painter, became a member of Mr. White’s independent congregation at that time (i. 610, 617, 631-632, 634, 642, 643).

⁴ According to the terms of the charter granted by James I to the Bermuda Company in 1615, the islands, after the reservation of a portion as public land, were divided into eight parts, called “Tribes.” The division was made in 1618 by the distinguished surveyor Richard Norwood (i. 90, 140-143, 200). That Stirk’s parish was Southampton Tribe appears from a record of July 6, 1626 (i. 392). It is also a certain inference from the record of a settlement of differences as to the ownership of six acres of glebe between Stirk and the Rev. Patrick Copeland

of the main island,¹ and he continued to hold this charge, with one or two brief interruptions, until his death.

Under the tyrannical administration of Captain Henry Woodhouse (who was Governor from October, 1623,² until the beginning of 1627)³ Mr. Stirk was banished from the Bermudas. His offence consisted in opposing the Governor with regard to an "oath for the division of tobacco." The records of the affair are very defective, but I will give the course of events as I make it out. A few details are rather conjectural. In the main, however, I think my account will be found well enough supported by the evidence, even if some of this is indirect or circumstantial.

The tobacco crop of the Bermudas was regularly "divided" between the colonists and the Company once a year. This division took place in the islands,⁴ usually in November or December.⁵ The

in 1627 (i. 431). The land was part of the so-called Overplus and appertained to Southampton Tribe (i. 228; cf. i. 451, § 42; i. 474–475). It was adjudged to belong "not to M^r Copeland but to M^r Stirke, as well for that it was M^r Stirkes ministrye before As also by casting of lotts before this assembly it fell to M^r Stirke" (i. 431). This shows that, on returning to Bermuda in 1626 (see p. 29, below, with note 9), Stirk received the same parish (by lot, in 1627) that he had held before his banishment,—and that what he received was Southampton Tribe is perfectly clear from a later record (see pp. 44–45, below). The association of Stirk with Stephen Painter in two other votes passed by the Assembly of 1627 (i. 430) is confirmatory evidence, for Painter appears as Councillor for Southampton Tribe in the record of 1623 (i. 316). On the situation of the church of this tribe, see i. 212, 392, 414–415, 451, 561.

¹ See the facsimile of the Map of 1626 at the end of Lefroy's first volume.

² Lefroy, i. 335.

³ Woodhouse's latest extant record as Governor is dated "13th January 162⁶/₇" (i. 403, 405). His successor, Captain Philip Bell, is mentioned as recently appointed in a letter of the Company dated "20 Septem 1626" (i. 398). The first extant record of Bell's administration is dated "16 February 162⁶/₇" (i. 406).

⁴ In 1616 the Company ordered that this division should be made in England, not in the islands (i. 112). The order was repeated in the instructions to Butler in 1619. He evaded it in that year, and, in a letter of January, 1620, begged them to rescind it. In their reply, received by the Governor in the same year, they reiterated it instead. Butler was "disgusted," and the inhabitants met the oppressive action with general and outspoken resentment (Butler, pp. 162, 207, 208, 209, 212, 220; MSS. No. 269, 284, 289, Report, pp. 35, 36, 37). The "non-divident" was one of the abuses of which the colonists complained in their memorial of 1622 (MS. No. 295, Report, p. 38; Butler, p. 295). These discontents led to the new order of 1622 (see p. 24, below).

⁵ See i. 267, 277–278 (1622), 363 (1624), 394 (1626), 474 (1628), 510 (1630).

tobacco was viewed by Overseers, appointed for the purpose, whose duty it was to determine, in each man's case, how much belonged to him and how much to the adventurers. The powers of the Overseers are carefully defined in an Act of July 13, 1621,¹ and in the Orders and Constitutions of the Company, February 6, 1622.² There was of course some temptation for the tenants to conceal a part of the crop; but the procedure in the detection and punishment of such frauds was also carefully prescribed by law. The Grand Jury were "to enquire by all lawfull meanes of such defaults" and to present the offenders for trial in the ordinary way.³ Governor Woodhouse was not content with the prescribed process. He devised a form of oath, which each producer was to take, to the effect that he had brought before the Overseers all the tobacco that he had raised and made, "except what [he] and [his] frends and servants [had] drunke."⁴

By proclamation, as I conjecture, without the advice of his Council,⁵ Woodhouse instructed the Overseers to exact this oath⁶ at the annual division in December, 1624.⁷ Of course the colonists protested. They regarded the Governor's act as illegal, since nothing of the kind was provided for in the Orders and Constitutions.⁸ The oath itself they stigmatized as "prodigious,"⁹ — that is, as abnormal, monstrous. The majority refused to take it, and those who con-

Sometimes it began in December and ran into January, as in the division for 1628 (i. 474).

¹ i. 180.

² i. 215–218 (see particularly §§ 167–169).

³ Orders and Constitutions, February 6, 1622, § 169 (i. 217).

⁴ For the form, see i. 401.

⁵ There is no direct evidence, but this procedure would be in harmony with Woodhouse's arbitrary conduct in general, and it is consistent with the language of his letter to the Company in 1625 (i. 341–342) and with that of the Company's letter of the same year (i. 359–360). The latter mentions "the consent of the counsell" (i. 359), but such consent, as I interpret the course of events, came at a later stage.

⁶ See his proceedings on a later occasion, in 1626 (i. 400–401).

⁷ The date is fixed by the deposition of John Middleton (i. 363), and less exactly (as before February 4, 1625) by Woodhouse's letter (i. 340–342).

⁸ See the Company's letter to Woodhouse, September, 1625 (i. 359–360), and the charges presented against Captain Thomas Stoaks (Stokes) in the General Assembly of March, 1627 (i. 425).

⁹ It is so described in the proceedings against Stokes (i. 425).

sented were "dispized of the rest."¹ Many of the recusants were fined.²

Among the opponents of the oath were two members of the Council, Stephen Painter and Mr. Stirk. Painter was a leading citizen (he appears as foreman of a jury as early as 1616³) and was the Councillor for Southampton Tribe.⁴ He was an active, energetic, and determined man (as his conduct on later occasions shows),⁵ and he doubtless expressed his views with a good deal of freedom. Mr. Stirk, who was the minister of Painter's parish, was of a mild and amiable temper,⁶ but he never lacked courage. He was (or was soon to become) Painter's son-in-law.⁷ He, too, probably spoke out in criticism of the Governor's course. Woodhouse called a meeting of the Council, about January, 1625, at which he presented for signature a document declaring the Governor's action in propounding the oath to be warrantable by the law of England⁸ and the law of God.⁹ This acknowledgment he asked, or ordered, the Councillors to sign. Three of them refused,—Painter and Stirk and Mr. Nathaniel Bernard, one of Stirk's two colleagues in the ministry. All three maintained that

¹ Woodhouse's letter of 1625 (i. 341).

² The same (i. 341–342, 344); Company's reply, March, 1626 (i. 377); Woodhouse's proclamation, [December (?)], 1626 (i. 400). Woodhouse held his first assizes in December, 1623 (i. 314). ³ i. 124.

⁴ He appears in this capacity as early as 1623 (i. 316).

⁵ See pp. 32 ff, 53 ff, below. ⁶ See pp. 43, 46, 50, below. ⁷ See p. 53, below.

⁸ This appears from the proceedings against Captain Thomas Stoaks (or Stokes) in the anti-Woodhouse Assembly of 1627: "The said Captⁿ Stoaks . . . hath bene the occasion of much trouble and vexation to the Inhabitants of these Islands, in subscribing at the councell table that the proceedings of the late Governor Captⁿ Wodehouse in propounding the prodigious Oathe were warrantable by the lawe of England And amongst the Inhabitants hath declared himself to be p.swaded that 500 the chiefest lawyers about London, not three of them would be of opinion that this oath was lawfull" (i. 425). Here we doubtless have a phrase from the form of acknowledgment required of the Councillors by Woodhouse,— "warrantable by the law of England." It is of course possible that the Council Table in question was held *before* Woodhouse propounded the oath, but the order of events that I have adopted fits all the circumstances better. The record of this meeting is not extant. The time must at all events have been before February 4, 1625 (see Woodhouse's letter, i. 340–342).

⁹ In their letter of September, 1625, to Woodhouse, the Company write: "Wee are very gladd to vnderstand both from M^r Stirke his own mouth here, as also by the peticon exhibited to you by M^r Bernard that they did acknowledge the oath not to be derogatarye to Gods lawe" (i. 359).

the oath was illegal, though Stirk and Bernard admitted that it was not derogatory to the law of God.¹ The other Councillors signed the acknowledgment,² including the third minister, Mr. Robert Staples.³

Woodhouse then accused⁴ Painter and Stirk of seditious opposition and, to support his charge, brought evidence, or made allegation, of things that they had said outside the Council chamber.⁵ They doubtless admitted making some of these remarks. Thereupon the Governor called upon the members of the Council in turn to express an opinion as to the punishment to be inflicted on the two.⁶ All complied save Mr. Bernard, who refused to pass judgment.⁷ Woodhouse then

¹ See p. 25 note 9, above.

² This is an unavoidable inference from the fact that only Painter, Stirk, and Bernard were punished and that they were removed from the Council.

³ In his letter to the Company, 1625, Woodhouse complains of the conduct of Staples in other matters (i. 342-343), but his silence about any opposition to the oath on his part, as well as the fact that Staples remained on the Council throughout Woodhouse's administration, is decisive.

⁴ This may have been at the same or at a later meeting, but, even if it was later, cannot have been after February 4, 1625 (see p. 25 note 8, above).

⁵ I venture to reconstruct the proceedings on the basis of what happened on other occasions, in the Council, at the Assizes, or in the Assembly. See, for example, the prosecution of Captain Thomas Elfroy (or Elfrith) in 1625 (i. 352-356), and cf. i. 404-405, 410, 426-428, 458, 464-470, 485-486, 512-513, etc.

⁶ See this practice in other cases, i. 355-356, 364-365, 371-372, 405, etc. The regular meaning of "censure" was "judgment," "opinion." There is a curious Council record of March 16, 1627, when a certain lieutenant was before that body, charged with disorderly conduct. The censures of the Councillors vary extremely. "M^r Staples censured him to bestride a piece of ordinance being fully laden and soe discharged" (i. 410).

⁷ That Mr. Bernard refused to give judgment is certain. In the anti-Woodhouse General Assembly under the next administration (Bell's) in March, 1627, "Vpon the petition of M^r George Stirke and Hugh Wentworth of the long and false imprisonment of M^r Nathaniell Bernard minister, who suffered for his not censuring of M^r Stirke & M^r Painter as aforesaid It was agreed by the whole court that the record concerning him should be raised and annighilated, and sattisfaction allowed him for his long imprisonment" (i. 430). This entry follows a similar expunging resolution with regard to Woodhouse's "vniust pr.ceedings" against Stirk and Painter "in banishing them from these Islands" (*ibid.*). Exactly what Bernard did may be inferred from the words used by Captain Roger Wood (Secretary to the Council, afterwards Governor) when called upon to give his "censure" in the case of Christopher Parker at the Assizes of 1626 (also under Woodhouse's administration): "I beeing (or desyring to bee) a free holder of the Sommer Islands, believing here to liue and dye, doe desire to

sentenced Painter and Stirk to banishment.¹ As for Bernard, he expelled him from the Council, fined him a thousand pounds of tobacco (almost two years' salary²), and, in default of payment (or very likely as an additional penalty), put him in prison "during the Governor's pleasure."³

These arbitrary proceedings probably fall in January, 1625. Mr. Stirk went to England⁴ and presented his case to the Company, to whom Woodhouse also reported. The Governor's report was sent by the ship Thomas, of Bristol, on February 4, 1625, and beyond a doubt Mr. Stirk sailed on the same ship. The Company despatched a reply by the ship Lark, in September of the same year.⁵

enjoy the benifits and priviledges of the country graunted by the Honorable Compa and will neither for feare nor favour of any man bee transported to speake any thing against my conscience Therefore in this matter now in question my censure shall bee no censure, submitting myselfe with all due respect vnto the more able Judgements of the Gouernment and the Bench" (i. 371). That Woodhouse regarded this refusal as objectionable is shown by the fact that, under the next administration, Wood took pains to get the General Assembly to approve his action: "14 March 1626 The Assembly being moved by the Secretary to giue their opinions, whether they thought the Secretary had erred in giuing this opinion, they generally [i. e., universally] concluded he erred not" (i. 371-372). It is instructive to note that the case in which Wood refused to give his "censure" was reviewed by this Assembly of 1627. The defendant, Captain Christopher Parker, had been forced to sign an apology or acknowledgment, and had been otherwise punished. Both the judgment and the acknowledgment were "in open veiwe of the Assemblie by generall consent raised out of the Record" (i. 427).

That Bernard's punishment was (at least, in part) for refusing to sign an acknowledgment that Woodhouse's propounding of the oath was legal, appears from the Company's letter of September, 1625 (i. 360).

¹ The record of banishment was expunged by the General Assembly in March, 1627 (i. 430), and is no longer extant. Probably it was actually destroyed at that time.

² His annual stipend was 533 pounds of tobacco (i. 361, 516).

³ The expulsion and fine are mentioned in the Company's letter of September, 1625 (i. 360). Imprisonment during the Governor's pleasure was very common, and was often annexed to some other penalty or penalties (i. 356, 364, 372, 403, 405, 410, 425, 426, etc.). That Bernard's imprisonment was for this indeterminate period, or else that it was to continue until he signed an acknowledgment, is shown by Woodhouse's letter of 1625 (i. 342).

⁴ Doubtless Painter also went to England, but we do not know.

⁵ Woodhouse's letter of February 4, 1625, is not preserved, but his (extant) letter of 1625 mentions it and gives the date and ship (i. 340-341; cf. i. 342, line 4). The Company's letter of September, 1625, was in reply to Woodhouse's (lost) letter of February 4, not (as Lefroy thinks) to his extant letter of 1625.

They approve the imposition of the oath, and think that Mr. Stirk and Mr. Bernard would have done better not to oppose the Governor in exacting it but to rely upon an appeal to the Company "after wrong done." But they express regret at Woodhouse's harsh way of dealing with the ministers, remit Mr. Bernard's fine, and hope that he has already been restored to the Council.¹ As to Mr. Stirk, they request Woodhouse to send to England his unpaid salary for 1625, since "he is now here in greate want."² This request was in effect a disavowal of Woodhouse's decree of banishment. It shows also that Mr. Stirk did not mean to return to the Bermudas at present. On the receipt of the Company's letter, about December, 1625, Woodhouse released Bernard, and he took up his long-interrupted ministerial duties.³

To the *latter* the Company's *next* letter, that of March 21, 1626 (i. 372), is the reply. Comparison of the contents of Woodhouse's extant letter with those of the Company's letter of March 21, 1626, establishes this relation. Take for instance the following points: remission of fines (i. 341, 344, 377); the sending of 1000 lbs. of tobacco under peculiar circumstances and its receipt (i. 343, 374); whale ropes (i. 345, 374); [John] Delbridge's ship and passengers (i. 345, 375); the stone house (i. 345–346, 375); ordnance from wrecks (i. 346, 372); offer to go to England (i. 347, 373). In all or nearly all of these points, the Company's letter of 1626 fits Woodhouse's extant letter of 1625. That the Company sent no letter of instructions between the letter of September, 1625, and that of March 21, 1626, is clear from the opening words of the latter (i. 372). That the letter of September, 1625, was a reply to Woodhouse's (lost) letter of February 4, 1625, is, then, an inevitable inference, which is supported by the mention, in the September letter, of "this late shipp of Bristol" (i. 357), doubtless the "Thomas of Bristol," by which, as we know, Woodhouse sent his letter of February, 1625 (i. 340).

The contents of the Company's letter of September, 1625, may therefore be safely used in reconstructing the tenor of the report which Woodhouse sent to the Company in his letter of February 4, 1625.

¹ i. 359–361.

² "ffurthermore whereas there is a levye for euerye minister of 540 lb weight of tobacco yearly or thereabouts, whereof M^r Stirke alleageth he hath had no pte of this last yere past, and he is now here in greate want we pray you that that w^{ch} is or shalbe levyed for him for his last yeres service 1625 may be sent over to the Compa. here by this or the next shipp" (i. 361).

³ Mr. Bernard "continued in prison," according to Woodhouse's extant letter of 1625, until March 11, 1625 (cf. i. 342 with i. 341), after which he was "confined to his chamber and house." There is no record of his release, but this must have taken place as soon as Woodhouse received the Company's letter of September, 1625, which contained what was tantamount to an order to this effect. There is indirect evidence, besides, that Bernard was released and reinstated in his parish about December, 1625. For (1) his ministry seems to have come to an

Before these instructions of September, 1625, reached him, Woodhouse had sent another letter to the Company,¹ justifying his former proceedings, enclosing a list of those "who haue refused to take the oath for the division of Tobacco wth theire vndertakers,"² and urging that their fines shall not be remitted.³ To this missive the Company replied on March 21, 1626.⁴ They "desire that all fynes for the oath that are past should be remitted, and that such as haue bene receaued should be restored back,"⁵ — a plain indication that they have come to disapprove of Woodhouse's policy. Mr. Stirk is not mentioned, but two new ministers are sent over, Mr. Patrick Copeland⁶ and Mr. Bellingham Morgan, and the fact that Mr. Copeland was to be settled in Southampton Tribe, Mr. Stirk's former parish, suggests that there was some doubt of his returning to Bermuda at all.⁷

By the 20th of the following September, however, in this same year (1626), a new Governor had been appointed, Captain Philip Bell,⁸ and Mr. Stirk accompanied him to the islands in the ship Exchange.⁹ On Bell's arrival there was a conflict of authority between him and

end in December, 1626 (see below); and (2) in March, 1627, after Bernard had left the islands (as the language of the document itself shows), the General Assembly recorded the fact that, since his release, he had "serued here one whole year . . . in the country" (i. 415, cf. i. 477). From December, 1625, to December, 1626, would make this "whole year."

As to proposition 1 (above), we note that in December, 1626, Woodhouse sentenced Mr. Bernard (on altogether frivolous grounds) to apologize to one of his flock and "for performance thereof [to] lie in prison during his pleasure" (i. 402–403). This doubtless ended his ministry in Bermuda. He certainly left the islands before the Assembly of the following March (i. 415).

¹ This is the document often referred to in these notes as Woodhouse's letter of 1625. It is extant, in an incomplete draught, which may be found in Lefroy, i. 340–351. It was written later than April 7, 1625 (i. 341), and before the summer ("now Somer approachinge," i. 347). Lefroy dates it "probably June." Perhaps there was some delay in despatching it. Certainly it seems odd that the Company's reply should not have been written until March, 1626, but there can be no doubt about the fact (see p. 27 note 5, above).

² i. 341. ³ i. 341–342, 344. ⁴ i. 372–378. ⁵ i. 377.

⁶ On Copland or Copeland, see Neill, English Colonization of America, chaps. vii–x.

⁷ i. 376–377.

⁸ Letter of the Company, September 20, 1626 (i. 398).

⁹ This is a safe inference from the reply of the inhabitants to the Company's letter of September 20, 1626 (see p. 31 note 4, below).

Woodhouse,¹ but the latter was soon brought to book. In the General Assembly, held in the following March (1627), the record of the banishment of Stirk and Painter was expunged, as well as that of Mr. Bernard's sentence "for not censuring" them;² Captain Thomas Stokes and Captain Robert Felgate, Woodhouse's right-hand men, were sentenced to suspension from all their offices and to imprisonment,³ and Woodhouse himself was severely disciplined.⁴

By drawing of lots before the session, Mr. Stirk recovered his old parish of Southampton Tribe, Warwick's Tribe falling to Mr. Copeland.⁵ Mr. Stirk's salary was raised from 533 lbs. of tobacco to 700 lbs. by act of the Assembly, with a proviso that if this did not amount to 100 marks (£ 66 $\frac{2}{3}$) the difference should be made up.⁶ It was also voted that "all ministers who shall either be sent from hence or deteyned in prison vpon the gou'nors displeasure shall notwithstanding their vnwilling absence or constreyned silence loose noe pte of that stipend w^{ch} is due vnto them for their worke in the ministrie except it may appeare that they haue been Justlie p.ceeded against for some publique offence comitted by them, and they thereby vn-

¹ Council record of April 12, 1627 (i. 440–441); Bell's letter of 1627 (MS. No. 411, Report, p. 48).

² i. 430. The expunging resolution in Stirk and Painter's case is quoted above, p. 26 note 7. Governor Bell was in full sympathy with this and the other expunging resolutions, as is shown by his letter of 1627, in which he says that the persons who petitioned the Assembly in that behalf "had all been used and proceeded against not only illegally but very cruelly and unjustly" and that "those former proceedings" were reversed (MS. No. 411, Report, p. 48).

³ i. 425.

⁴ i. 428; cf. Bell's letter of 1627 (MS. No. 411, Report, p. 48).

⁵ i. 431. Paget's Tribe was attached to Warwick's as part of Mr. Copeland's parish (i. 441). A "disputacon" (i.e., discussion, not dispute) between Mr. Stirk and Mr. Copeland as to glebe land was amicably adjusted. In this matter, Mr. Stirk showed his modest and amiable temper, as the record proves (i. 431; cf. i. 474–475).

⁶ i. 415–416 (cf. i. 515–516). The act speaks of "the 4 ministers now residing in the Somer Islands" and mentions Staples and Copeland by name. Lefroy thinks that the other two were Nathaniel Bernard and Bellingham Morgan (i. 416 note 1). They were, in fact, Morgan and Stirk. Bernard had left the islands, for this same act provides that "all such stipends and meanes w^{ch} are got behind and vnpaid vnto M^r Nathaniell Bernard . . . shall be allowed and paid either to himselfe if he shall return againe (wh. wee much desire) or to his assignes nominated in his stead and to his vse to receaue the same" (i. 415). Stirk was present at this Assembly (i. 430, 431).

worthy of that charge comended to them.”¹ Mr. Stirk received his stipend for the whole term of his banishment.²

In March, 1627, then, we find Mr. Stirk reinstated in his parish of Southampton Tribe. His parishioners were glad to have him back. The colonists, in replying, at this same time, to the Company’s letter of September, 1626, brought over by Governor Bell,³ render “many and humble thanks vnto [the Company] for refreshing and recomforting our drooping and dejected harts as well in sending vs this Gouernor, as in restoring our banished minister.”⁴

¹ i. 415.

² Apparently some order concerning Mr. Stirk’s salary had been sent to Woodhouse (supplementary to that previously mentioned, p. 28, above), for Bell writes to England, in 1627, that certain glebe lands which should have gone “towards the raising of Mr. Stirk’s salary, due and yet unsatisfied” had been given by Woodhouse to Mr. Morgan, and the orders of the Company wholly disregarded (MS. No. 411, Report, p. 48). This in part explains an entry in the Council record of March 1, 1627: “M^r Morgan applauding Captⁿ Woodhouse for the many favours hee had receeued from him, and that he was his seruant *vsque ad aras*” (i. 407). It took some time to get the matter of Mr. Stirk’s salary fully adjusted, as we shall see, but it is clear that he finally received his dues.

³ i. 397.

⁴ i. 433. The letter must date from March, 1627, for its authors are “wee whose names are here subscribed, presenting the body of this Plantacon in this our gen^{rall} Assemblie” (i. 432–433). Lefroy erroneously identifies “our banished minister” with Mr. Robert Staples (i. 433 note), and he makes the same slip with regard to “the banish^t of one minister” mentioned in the record of this Assembly (i. 425). That Staples was not banished by Woodhouse is as certain as that Stirk *was*. The records show, on the contrary, that he continued a member of the Council throughout Woodhouse’s administration (see i. 342–343, 356, 365, 371, 378, 388, 396, 405). Lefroy’s error was perhaps induced by a record of February 10, 1629: “M^r Staples having been formerly dismissed from [his employment in] the compa and countreys service, Was now againe . . . re-appointed to his charge at Hambleton and St Georges” (i. 484). But this has nothing to do with banishment. The dismissal, doubtless at his own request (and very likely as a result of differences with an exasperating colleague, the Rev. Abraham Graham: see i. 464–470), apparently occurred in 1628 (i. 475). Staples went to England (i. 480), but soon returned, and he was reinstated in his charge in 1629 (i. 484, 504–505). In the same year Graham was dismissed for seditious and turbulent conduct (i. 486). In 1630, however, Staples’s relations with the colony came to a sudden and violent end. On November 2d of that year, Captain Thomas Chaddock (the Sheriff, afterwards Governor) deposed that he had waited upon Mr. Staples, “according to the Governors comand,” in order “to demand a cowe calfe belonging to the company.” The minister got very angry, and said to Chaddock, “If you take the Calfe away I would I might hang on Hell if euer I preach in the Islands more,” and, “stamping with his foote,” added,

In the next year, 1628, Mr. Stirk is on record as present at a Council Table held October 11.¹ The business was a conflict of ecclesiastical and civil authority. The Assembly of March, 1627, had passed an act providing for the institution of vestries in the several parishes.² Shortly after, the act had been suspended by the Governor and Council because, in Governor Bell's words, the vestries had erred "by desyring and goeing about to advance them [i. e., themselves] aboue all authoritie or governmt."³ In defiance of such suspension, Mr. Alexander Graham (or Graimes), a minister who had lately been sent to Bermuda by the Company, had called a vestry in Hamilton Tribe in September, 1628,⁴ and had informed his congregation in a sermon in the church at St. George's that he "requyred and expected a Vestrie there also."⁵ For these offences Mr. Graham was brought before the Council on October 11, and he signed an acknowledgment of his fault.⁶ At this Council both Mr. Stirk and Mr. Copeland appear to have supported the Governor's authority. Yet there are indications in the record that Mr. Graham was not alone in disliking the prohibition of vestries.⁷

Bell's troubles with Mr. Graham were closely connected with the opposition which the Governor was experiencing from Stephen Painter. A long letter from Bell to Sir Nathaniel Rich of the Bermuda Company, written about the beginning of 1629, is preserved among the Duke of Manchester's papers.⁸ Bell had received from

"If euer I preach in the Islands againe I would I might smoke where I stand." Mr. Staples, being questioned at the Council Table, declared that he would stand to his words, whereupon "It was consented vnto by the Gouern^r and Counsell by the irrection of hands that hee should bee discharged from the Honor^{ble} Compa^s service and should take his course as may seem best for himself for tyme to come" (i. 512-513).

¹ i. 469.

i. 419.

² i. 466. The record of the Council suspending the act has not been found, apparently.

⁴ i. 463, 466-470.

⁵ i. 468, 470.

⁶ i. 464-470.

⁷ At the Council of October 11, 1628, the Governor told Mr. Graham "hee wonndered that hee w^{ch} was the youngest minister, and but newly arryved in the land should thus offer first to meddle and stirre in that w^{ch} all the rest were contented withal, or at least obeyed" (i. 468). Compare the remarks of Mr. Copeland (*ibid.*).

⁸ MS. No. 416 (Public Record Office). My attention was called by our associate Mr. Worthington C. Ford to a summary of this letter in the Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Appendix, part ii. pp. 48-49.

the Company a reprimand of some kind ¹ which he warmly resented. He declares that he has always done his duty to the utmost of his power.

My vnpartiall course of iustice hath pulled vpon me not only taxatione at home, but malitious oppositione & devisione here in the countrye likewise, & wth such men especially one w^{ch} is M^r Stirck as I thought the whole world could neuer haue drawne into such a waye. but the fault lyes cheifly in the head & ringleader of all the rest w^{ch} is Stephen Painter. who at my comeinge hither I thought (though somethinge violent & rude) an honest & religious minded man. but since vpon better experience I find him of such a Luciferiane pride, & such a headstrong pervers nature & dispositione y^t wthout pleasinge or submittinge to him, no man cann liue in peace or quietness where he is or hath to doe. neyther is it possible for any Gouer^r to hold correspondencye wth him any longer then he will permit him to beare half the swaye at least in his Gouvernement. the whole buisiness & caus of contentione between him & me is in the booke of records & at large related in one of my Generall letters,² vnto w^{ch} for brevityes sake I must referre you & as in substance & effect no other then becaus I would not suffer the conclusiones of the Generall Assemblye & the Generall equitye of the whole lande to giue place & waye to his proude & licentious humore. y^t M^r Stircke did side likewise wth him is not strange, for in sayeing y^t he maryed his dawghter & is become his sonn in lawe there is reasone sufficient deliuered. but by this meanes & occatione Painters fiery & factious spiritt is enkindled so y^t he hath vnder hand wrought a faction & partye to himself against me, who doe intend all y^t malice cann invent & more then truth cann warrant (as I heare) against me. soe no man must longer Gouerne then he pleases or is pleased. but there is an all seeinge God y^t lookes vpon them, & w^{ch} lawghs all theirs & all other mens plotts & pollicyes to scorne w^{ch} are not honest & direct. for M^r Stircke himselfe he both is & hath since showne himself a learned & truly religious Gen^t & wer he free from his father in lawes pervers & foward nature & conversatione I am perswaded he would be as worthy & conformable in

I have procured a copy of the whole document, as well as of Bell's supplementary letter to Rich (MS. No. 417). Both are important in the present investigation. I am indebted to Mr. Salisbury, of the Record Office, for his kindness in this matter, and also for obtaining permission for me to have two of Mr. Stirk's letters photographed (Manchester Papers, Nos. 419, 422).

¹ It seems not to be extant.

² The records and letter do not seem to be preserved.

euery respect as a man of his coate owght to be. but yett this is not all for one of your last ministers Mr Graimes by name is proued of a dispositione & nature every whitt as bad if not worse then Painter himselfe. & if it be possible more proude more violent & more turbulent then he is. so y^t they are ioned & combined together in the most firme league & bonde of brotherhoode y^t cann be possible. he at his first comeinge did speake very distastfully to my self both of Mr Stircke & him, sayeing the one was proude & the other a Brownist meaneing Painter yett not longe after when he had but once spoken to them, there was such a sympathiseinge between Painter & him, y^t he presently would needs take his caus in hande & mantaine both it & him against my self & the whole authoritiye of the lande. w^{ch} he slighted refused to obey or submitt unto in any fitt measure. for the w^{ch} he was iustly though favorablye censured in respect of his coate (all w^{ch} buisiness is likewise vpon recorde & more largely related in my Generall letter formerly specified. all thes things were likewise done by the whole Counsell as well as my self & in such a discreet & moderate manner, as I when they shall come to be opened & considered by your self & such iudicious hearers & judges I doubt not but we shall all be iustifyed therein & y^t they shall all be made to submitt & acknowledg their faults by & from you, though they haue refused heere before vs otherwise then vnwillingly or by constraint . . . And for the better iustificatione of thes & all other my actiones & proceedings heere, the whole counsell have vndertaken & written a letter from themselues vnto the Companye, wherein they have freely opened theirs & the Countryes greivances, & as boldly mantained all my actions (w^{ch} are indeed their own actions) to be iust & honest in spight of all malitious informers & detractours. the copye whereof I now likewise send vnto your self.

It is idle to conjecture, in the absence of records, what first brought Bell and Painter at variance.¹ Painter was the leader of the popular party. He was a member of the Council in the first year of Bell's administration (1627).² But in the spring of 1628 (apparently) and

¹ It will be noted that the cause which Bell (in his first letter to Rich) assigns for Painter's initial opposition is extremely vague: "becaus I would not suffer the conclusiones of the Generall Assemblye & the Generall equitye of the whole lande to giue place & waye to his proude & licentious humore" (p. 33, above). Perhaps Painter did not like the decision of the Assembly of 1627 that no church should be built at the Overplus (i. 414-415; cf. i. 212, 392-393, 451). This was at all events a matter of some interest to both him and Mr. Stirk.

² i. 432, 452.

of 1629 (certainly), when, if the regular order was followed, the Governor and Council chose two inhabitants of Southampton Tribe as Overseers,¹ Painter was not selected as First Overseer, but was superseded by Richard Leycroft.² Thus Painter lost his place in the Council, a position which he had held as early as 1623. That this change was due to Bell's influence is clear enough, for, in the next year, 1630, under the administration of Captain Roger Wood, Leycroft disappears from the Council and Painter resumes his dignity.³

Manifestly, then, Painter's opposition had begun before the trouble with Mr. Graham about the vestries, — doubtless, indeed, before the arrival of Mr. Graham in the islands. It is probable, however, that the abolition of vestries (which took place before Mr. Graham's coming) was in some way connected with Painter's quarrel with Bell. The Governor's reason for abolishing them was, as he expressed it,

¹ The Council, according to the Orders and Constitutions of 1622, was to consist "ordinarily" of the Sheriff, the minister of the St. George's church, the minister of Hamilton's and Smith's Tribes, the Secretary, two Captains of the chief forts, and the first of the Overseers of the Public Land. At the General Sessions "and upon other especiall and extraordinary occasion," it was to include also the other two ministers, "and the first of the two Overseers of every Tribe" (§ 172, i. 218; cf. § 154, i. 212). These two Overseers were to be chosen by the Governor and Council "out of the sixe persons sent yeerely from every Tribe to serve for that Tribe at the Generall Sessions to be held in the Spring or former part of the yeere" (§ 166, i. 215). The records are too incomplete to enable us to make a good list of the Councillors from year to year.

² Leycroft (Leicroft, Lucroft) signs the Council record of March 10, 1629 (the Council which dismissed Graham), and he was present at the meeting of December 3, 1629 (i. 486, 487). He was of Southampton Tribe (i. 380, 487, 524) and his land lay next to Painter's (ii. 704–705). That he owed his membership in the Council to his position as first Overseer of the Tribe is not only obvious from the organization of that body (see note 1, above), but is plainly indicated by "South." after his name in the Council record of December 3, 1629 (i. 487). Leycroft ("Levicroft") is one of the signers of the Council's letter in favor of Bell (MS. No. 415, Report, p. 48), and Painter is not. This letter was delivered April 28, 1629. When it was written we do not know, but obviously not earlier than December 2, 1628 (since it mentions the action of the Council that was taken on that day: see i. 473–474). It is almost certain, then, that Leycroft was Councillor for 1628. If he had not been, it is hard to see how he could have assumed responsibility for an act of the Council which took place in that year. Leycroft was in England at some time in 1628 (i. 480), but he had returned before December 2 (indeed, before November 6: see i. 470) Staples, who was in England at the same time, had returned before December 18, 1628 (i. 475), or at all events before February 10, 1629 (i. 484).

³ i. 502.

their "desyring and goeing about to advance them [i.e., themselves] aboue all authoritie or governm^t."¹ Obviously he feared their democratic character. It is quite possible that Painter had utilized the vestry of Southampton Tribe in ways which, though proper enough from the point of view of local autonomy, were abhorrent to Bell's notions of duly centralized power. This would explain also Mr. Stirk's association with Painter in opposing Bell.

At all events, when Graham insisted on holding a vestry and clashed with the Governor about it, Painter espoused Graham's cause. So much is clear from a passage in Bell's letter. Graham and Painter are, he says, "combined together in the most firme leauge & bonde of brotherhoode y^t can be possible." And he adds that "he [Painter] would needs take his [Graham's] caus in hande & maintaine both it & him against my self & the whole authoritye of the lande. w^{ch} he [Graham] slighted refused to obey or submitt unto in any fitt measure." Whereupon, he goes on to state, Graham was censured by the Council. The reference is manifestly to the Council meeting of October 11, 1628, already described. Mr. Stirk's conduct at this meeting accounts for the Governor's remark (in the letter) that Mr. Stirk "both is and hath since [that is, at this meeting, which took place after the time of Painter's first opposition] showne himself a learned & truly religious Gen^l."² At the meeting in question Mr. Stirk had joined Mr. Copeland in requesting "that a forme of acknowledgem^t might bee drawen to w^{ch} Mr. Graimes might subscribe."³

The general letter in Bell's favor, which he says was signed by every member of the Council except Captain Thomas Chaddock, is likewise extant, in a contemporary copy, among the Duke of Manchester's papers.⁴ It was delivered on the same day as Bell's letter, April 28, 1629, and of course had crossed the sea in the same ship. Its main purpose is to exonerate the Governor with reference to the admission of a certain Barnstaple ship to trade in the Bermudas,⁵ and to ask for his continuance in office for a second term.

¹ i. 466.

² See p. 33, above.

³ i. 469.

⁴ MS. No. 415, Eighth Report, p. 48.

⁵ The Company laid oppressive restrictions, ruinous to the colony, on trade with the islands, desiring to confine it to their own ships, sailing from London. John Delbridge, of Barnstaple (he himself spells it *Barnstable*), a member of the

This recommendation was of course quite contrary to the wishes of Painter and Mr. Graham, who, according to Bell, were endeavoring to secure the governorship for Captain Thomas Chaddock.¹ I must make another extract from Bell's unpublished letter to Rich, — the same from which I have already quoted at some length.

I must ad one thinge more concerninge the Counsells Generall letter wh is y^t it is subscribed by the whole Counsell except Cap: Chadocke. who notwithstandinge his owne promise & ingagement for subscriptione was as free & large as any mans at the first propositione & resolutione of them all; yett at the upshott he only made refusall the reason is becaus he hopes & expects to be forthwth mad Gouer^r in my roome & to y^t purpose he hath vnder hand joined himself in confederacye wth Painter & M^r Graimes who haue likewise promised & undertaken to write so farre in his behalf as y^t he shall not possibly faile of it. besides he is full of subtillity, & wise in his owne conceipt, & do [so?] doth no doubt perswade himself y^t the forbearance of this subscriptione will aboue all other things most insinuate wth the Company & conduce to his ends. but to be free & plaine vnto your self in the expressings of my opinion & knowledg concerninge him, he is the most craftye hollowe hearted man I euer mett wthhall.

It will be noted that Bell does not accuse Mr. Stirk of being concerned with Painter and Graham in Chaddock's schemes.

In a second unpublished letter, written as a supplement to the former and doubtless sent with it,² Bell speaks very favorably of an Company, made insistent efforts to break through these restrictions. He sent various ships to the islands from Barnstaple, and the colonists were eager to trade with him (see Manchester Papers, MSS. Nos. 243, 415, 417, Report, pp. 33, 48, 49; Butler, pp. 189, 216, 225, 272; Lefroy, i. 99, 345, 375, 443–447, 448–449, 470–474, 714). The ship referred to in the letter of the Council arrived at the Bermudas about November 6, 1628 (i. 470); the inhabitants petitioned the Governor and Council for leave to trade (i. 471); the permission of the Council, "the Gouernor only excepted," is dated December 2, 1628 (i. 473–474). Benjamin Delbridge, a relative of John (see Butler, p. 272), commanded this ship (i. 473). In a letter of Butler's meant as a supplement to that under discussion, the Governor says that the responsibility was with the whole Council, but that he did not share it (MS. No. 417, Report, p. 49).

¹ Thomas Chaddock (Chaddocke, Chadwicke) was Sheriff. He was afterwards Governor (1637–1640), succeeding Roger Wood (i. 548), Bell's successor, and it is extremely probable that he hoped at this time to succeed Bell, whose term was about to expire.

² Manchester MS. No. 417. It begins, "I must needs inlarge my self a litle further in one buisines or two w^{ch} I had allmost forgotten."

other minister, Mr. Ward, "the last minister was¹ sent." "He hath proued a very honest man a firme frend vnto me in no small time of need. for at his arrivall through the secrett & cunninge trecherye and undermineing of Chadocke, & the knavish workeinge of Painter many of the Counsell were faltringe & groweinge luke warme towards me. w^{ch} since by his meanes & good example are reduced to honestye & their former good estate again."²

¹ I.e., "that was" (by a very common ellipsis of the relative).

² Mr. Nathaniel Ward reached the Bermudas in the autumn of 1628. The evidence is as follows: (1) Mr. Abraham Graham is shown to have arrived about July, 1628, by the fact that, before he came, Mr. Staples, whom he was to succeed, was "seated and [had] served halfe the yeare or thereabouts" in Pembroke Tribe (i. 465; cf. i. 388, 473), and also by the fact that on July 17, 1628, Mr. Graham's motion "to knowe the certeine place of his charge and residence" came before the Council (i. 461). Now Graham was in the islands before Ward, for Governor Bell (early in 1629) speaks of Ward as the latest comer among the ministers. (2) Mr. Ward was on the Council in December, 1628 (i. 475, 514-515, 710; Manchester MS. No. 415, Report, p. 48. November 18 [i. 514] seems to be an error of the recorder for December 18 [see i. 475]). (3) In December, 1628, an appropriation of 200 lbs. of tobacco (two-sevenths of a year's salary) was made for Mr. Ward's stipend "since his entertainment," i.e., since his engagement as minister (i. 477, 485).

That the Bermuda Nathaniel Ward was not the Nathaniel who wrote *The Simple Cobbler* (as Lefroy thought, i. 710, cf. i. 545) has been proved by our associate the Rev. Henry A. Parker (*Publications of this Society*, xii. 166-167). I have no doubt that he was that Nathaniel's nephew. We know that Samuel Ward, Town Preacher of Ipswich in Suffolk, had a son (his second child) named Nathaniel, who was a clergyman (Candler's pedigree in J. W. Dean, *Memoir of Nathaniel Ward*, p. 125; Samuel Ward's will, Dean, p. 154, Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings*, p. 19). Since Samuel Ward married on January 2, 1604-05 (C. H. and T. Cooper, 2 Notes and Queries, xii. 426; Dean, in Waters, p. 19), his son Nathaniel may well have been old enough for the Bermuda ministry in 1628. My identification derives some support from the fact that in 1634 (two years after the Bermuda Nathaniel returned to England) we find Governor Roger Wood applying to Samuel Ward to procure a minister for the islands (i. 541). It is quite possible that Governor Wood was related to the Wards, either by blood or marriage. John Ward, father of Samuel and of Nathaniel (*The Simple Cobbler*), was of Haverhill, which is partly in Suffolk and partly in Essex (Dean, p. 12, and note 5). Roger Wood was Nathaniel Bernard's uncle (Lefroy, i. 542; cf. p. 22 note 2, above), and Bernard's family lived in Essex (i. 361). A certain John Wood of Stratford (Suffolk), in his will, proved February 2, 1615-16 (Waters, p. 583), speaks of "my cousin Samuel Ward, now preacher at Ipswich," and "my cousin Nathaniel Ward, his brother."

Since the Bermuda Nathaniel returned to England in 1632 (p. 46, below, and note 2), I venture, further, to identify him with the Nathaniel Ward, A.M., who became Rector of Hadleigh (Hadley ad Castrum), Essex, June 7, 1639, on the

Before the ship sailed with Bell's letters and that of the Council, strange rumors were rife about the way in which the signatures of the

resignation of John Ward, A.M. (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii. 291). This John was son of the elder Nathaniel (the Simple Cobbler) and came to Massachusetts in 1639 (Mather, *Magnalia*, book iii. part ii. chap. 31, ed. 1702, p. 167; Dean, pp. 32 note 4, 187). Thus it would appear that our Nathaniel succeeded his own cousin in the Hadleigh rectorship. The patron of the living was Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, who was Governor of the Bermuda Company in 1628 (i. 473), when our Nathaniel was sent to the islands. Doubtless he owed his Bermuda appointment to the Earl, as well as the Hadleigh living. (Note that another Bermuda minister, Mr. Nathaniel Bernard, an Essex man, was certainly a protégé of Warwick's: see i. 360-361.) Nathaniel Ward retired from his Hadleigh rectorship almost immediately, his successor being instituted on June 30, 1639 (Newcourt, ii. 291). On the 8th of the following January, Nathaniel Ward, A.M., — unquestionably the same man — was instituted as Rector of another Essex church of which the Earl of Warwick was likewise patron, — that of Hawkwell (Hackwell). He resigned this living, and his successor, Thomas Oresby, was instituted on December 7, 1643 (Newcourt, ii. 320; cf. Davids, *Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 269, 401; Shaw, *Church under the Commonwealth*, ii. 379). Mr. Dean was rather inclined to identify the Rector of Hadleigh and Hawkwell with Samuel Ward's son (p. 32 note 4). Probably he would have expressed himself more positively if he had known of the career of Nathaniel Ward in Bermuda.

Nathaniel Ward's next living, as I read the records, was Walkern, Herts. Urwick, to be sure, positively identifies the Walkern minister with the elder Nathaniel, the author of the Simple Cobbler (*Nonconformity in Herts*, p. 613). But this is certainly a mistake. The elder Nathaniel was in New England as late as December, 1646 (Dean, p. 88), and perhaps later, whereas the Walkern Nathaniel signed a petition of sixty-three beneficed Hertfordshire ministers which was presented to the House of Lords on July 24th of that year (*Lords' Journals*, viii. 445; Urwick, pp. 124, 612). John Gorsuch, D.D., Rector of Walkern, was sequestered not later than 1643 (*First Century of Scandalous Priests*, 1643, p. 5; Urwick, p. 612). Since the minutes of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, October 26, 1647, speak of the rectory as sequestered to Ward (Urwick, p. 612), and since there is no trace of an intervening incumbent, we may infer that Ward received the Walkern charge immediately after the resignation of his Hawkwell rectory, which took effect, as we have seen, December 7, 1643 (Newcourt, ii. 320). On August 20, 1647, Nathaniel Ward, as minister "settled" at Walkern "by Order of Parliament," petitioned the Lords for relief against Dr. Gorsuch, who was attempting to make reentry, and relief was promptly granted (*Lords' Journals*, ix. 389, 390; cf. Shaw, *Church under the Commonwealth*, ii. 260 note 3). The next year Ward lost the living, which was declared "void by the death of Jo. Gorsuch" and bestowed on Simon Smeath, July 3, 1648 (*Lords' Journals*, x. 358; cf. Urwick, p. 614 and note 2).

The identity of Nathaniel of Walkern with Nathaniel son of the Ipswich Town Preacher, Samuel Ward, is practically settled by the will of George Marvin, March 24, 1648-49. Marvin leaves £10 to "Mrs Ward, widow of Mr Samuel Ward," and £5 to "Mr Nath: Ward late of Walke-horne," making Nathaniel and

Councillors had been secured, and these involved Mr. Ward. The document which sets forth the facts is too amusing to be

Joseph Ward (whom he calls ministers) his executors (Waters, p. 1103). Here we manifestly have to do with Samuel, Town Preacher of Ipswich, and his sons Nathaniel and Joseph (see Candler's pedigree, Dean, p. 125). "Walk-horne" is of course Walkern. The description "late of Walke-horne" suggests that Mr. Nathaniel Ward had not received another benefice by March 24, 1649, and this fits perfectly with what we can ascertain from other sources. Thus, on June 2, 1648, "Nath. Warde" petitioned the Lords "to have the Parsonage of Althorpe, in the County of Lyncolne." Obviously this is the Walkern man. The dates fit to a nicety. His petition was granted, but almost immediately (June 22–26, 1648) the Althorpe living was given to Thomas Spademan instead (Lords' Journals, x. 297, 342, 347).

Matthias Candler's pedigree of the Wards calls Nathaniel (son of Samuel of Ipswich, Suffolk) "Dr of Divinity, Rector of Stapleford in Essex" (Dean, p. 125; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xli. 283). This fits our successive identifications admirably. Richard (or Thomas) Nicholson had the rectory of Stapleford Tawney (Tany) from March 11, 1596–97, until April 29, 1643, when he was sequestered (Newcourt, ii. 556; Commons' Journals, iii. 50, 53, 58; Lords' Journals, vi, 20, 21, vii. 142, 174, 272, ix. 389, 390; First Century, 1643, pp. 25–26; Davids, Nonconformity in Essex, pp. 422–423). Nicholson was succeeded by Daniel Jennour, Jennour by Edward Benthall, and Benthall by Thomas Horrocks, who, in 1650 or immediately after, removed to Malden, Essex (Davids, pp. 423–424; cf. Lords' Journals, ix. 389, 390). Thus it is clear that Candler's designation of Nathaniel Ward as Rector of Stapleford applies to a time not earlier than 1650. In fact, we find Ward there in 1657, for, on February 9, 1656–57, "Samuel Warde, son and heir of Nathaniel W., Stapleford Toney, Essex, clerk," was admitted to Gray's Inn (Foster, Register of Admissions, p. 281; cf. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, p. 1570). Palmer registers "Mr. Ward" as ejected from Stapleford Tawney in 1662 under the Act of Uniformity (Nonconformist's Memorial, i. 522; Dean, p. 125 note 2). This is of course our man, and, indeed, Newcourt records that Henry Carpenter was inducted as rector on July 17, 1661 (ii. 556). Newcourt (*more suo*) ignores all the incumbents between Nicholson and Carpenter as intruders thrust in by "the wicked Rebellion."

After his ejection from Stapleford, Mr. Ward is heard of no more until his death. This appears to have occurred in 1667, for the will of Nathaniel Warde of Old Winsor, Berks, D.D., was proved February 11, 1667–68 (Waters, p. 20). We do not know the source of this degree of D.D., but its possession (see Candler's pedigree) is good reason for identifying this Nathaniel with Samuel's son (as J. J. Muskett does, Register, xli. 283).

Thus, by highly probable and sometimes certain identifications, we have followed the career of Nathaniel Ward, son of Samuel and nephew of the Simple Cobbler, from 1628, when he went to the Bermudas, to his death in 1667. There is a strong temptation to identify him also with the "Nathaniel Ward, B.A.," who was appointed Perpetual Curate of St. James, Duke's Place, London, on June 8, 1626, and was succeeded on February 14, 1627–28, by Ezekiel Clarke (Hennessy, Novum Repertorium, p. 118; Newcourt, i. 917). This would accord

abridged. It is a deposition by Mr. Ward himself, and runs as follows:

Mr Greames tould mee that it was a generall report in everie man's mouth that I Nathaniell Ward got the counsellors by a wyle into my chamber, and took out my bottles and caused them to drinke while [i.e., until] they were merrie and then persuaded them to subscribe to a letter framed to the Compa which otherwise they would not haue done And that hee the said Mr Graems, had written it in two letters to be sent for England, but vpon a former letter sent to him from mee he had blotted it out of one of his letters and would doe the like in the other. Also hee tould me that Mr Painter had written it as hee had done but hee had sent to Mr Painter to put it out.

NATHANIELL WARD Presbiter¹

The effect of Mr. Ward's deposition, and of other testimony of a similar nature, was immediate. The Council unanimously decided that "Mr Grames" should "bee sent to the court [i.e., the Company's court] of England by the first shipp . . . As a man vnworthie to exercise the ministerie in the Sumer Islands." Mr. Ward was the only clerical Councillor present when this vote was taken.² Bell indited a long postscript to his second letter,³ and both letters, along with the

admirably with the date of our Nathaniel's arrival in the Bermudas (autumn of 1628). But, since Samuel Ward was not married until January, 1605, his son Nathaniel (who was his second child) would have been very young for this curacy. It remains possible, then, — though I can hardly think it probable, — that the Perpetual Curate was the elder Nathaniel (the Simple Cobbler), and that the recorder carelessly wrote him down a Bachelor of Arts, though he had received his Master's degree many years before, in 1603 (Dean, pp. 32-33; Savage, 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 248; C. H. and T. Cooper, 2 Notes and Queries, xii. 426; Dictionary of National Biography, lix. 328). Mr. Waters, in the Ipswich Historical Society's edition of The Simple Cobbler, does not commit himself on this point.

¹ i. 485.

² i. 485-486.

³ I extract that part of the postscript which concerns this affair, since it has never been printed:

"Since the drawght and wrighteinge both of yours [i.e., Rich's] & the Generall letters Mr Graimes y^e vnruleye minister hath broke out further into such highe acts & words of disorder scorne & contempt against all authority as is no longer to be indured & so whereas I purposed not to have him sent home vntill the rest retourne I am forced to doe it now. but w^th such a pasporte as by the Book of records will at large appeare as I thinke no man of his Coate & callinge ever had or did deserve before. for besides those formerly mentioned of him. vpon the

Council's missive in Bell's favor, were posted to England by the ship that carried Mr. Graham.¹

Mr. Graham's character and fortunes would be no concern of ours, were it not for his association with Painter and for Painter's relations with Mr. Stirk. Our belief that Bell's abolition of vestries was unpopular, and that Painter and Mr. Stirk were both in favor of them, is confirmed — if confirmation be needed — by the fact that these bodies were reestablished soon after the end of Bell's administration. The vestry of Southampton Tribe (Mr. Stirk's parish, to which

Counells wrightinge & subscribeinge a Generall letter from themselves to the Companye M^r Graimes reported & saide he had writt it out in two of his owne letters y^t M^r Warde our new & worthy minister had gotten the Counsell together into his chamber made them drinke till they were drunke or merry & so had then procured their subscriptione w^{ch} otherwise would not have bine done. beinge likewise questioned for it & desired to know whither this came merely from himself or y^t he had any other author for it. he answered he had but would not reveale him. therevpon it was told him y^t if he would reveale no author himself then must be made the author of it, & further I charged & required him in his Ma^{ties} name to declare the author of it if there ever [wer?] any but himself. he still replyed peremptorily he would not vntill he had heard from the companye vnto whome he did appeale & vnto whome he is likewise accordingly sent. Another time when my self & the Counsell had mett & determined vpon some buisinesses because they wer not to his minde he saide openly before one of them w^{ch} was retourned & allmost his whole family y^t we wer a companye of Idle fellowes & did what we list whither iust or vniust much more of this nature vnfitt any man in his right witts much less a devine & preacher of Gods word. for brevityes sake therefore I referr you in all the rest to the booke of records."

¹ Neither of Bell's letters to Rich is dated. The first, however (MS. No. 416), is endorsed "Captaine Bells letter from y^e S Islands Delivered 28 Ap. 1629." The Council's letter (MS. No. 415) is also endorsed as delivered on the same date. Bell's second letter (MS. No. 417) has no endorsement, but it was manifestly written to go with his first, to which it is a supplement. In his first letter Bell says "two of your ships the Earle Warwicke & Somer Islands are now retourninge home againe & in the Earle Warwicke is Daniell Ellfrith himself comeinge" (MS. No. 416). Now on February 10, 1629, the Council put Lieut. James Warley in charge of the King's Castle "in the absence of Capt Elfrey now bound for England" (i. 483). About this time, then, the ships must have sailed, and whichever of them sailed first must have taken Graham and the letters. We are certain that both Bell's two letters to Rich and that of the Council (MSS. 416, 417, 415) were written after December 2, 1628, since that was the date on which the Council gave Delbridge leave to trade (i. 473-474), — an act which is dwelt on in all three letters.

Mr. Nathaniel Ward's deposition about Mr. Graham's slanders is undated, and so is the record of the Council which dismissed Mr. Graham, but it is clear that the meeting was held before Bell's letters were despatched.

Painter belonged) is mentioned in a Council record of February 17, 1631.¹

We need not try to adjudicate the differences between Bell and Painter. Much more evidence than we possess would be needed for any balancing of rights and wrongs. Painter was an active and energetic man and probably rather obstinate. His experiences under Woodhouse's government² and his later history prove that he lacked neither courage nor determination. When, in 1644, Mr. Nathaniel White renounced his episcopal orders and organized an independent church, Painter was one of his allies. In 1647, both White and Painter were indicted for high treason in connection with this matter, and they went to England in 1648 to present their case to the Company. They were promptly acquitted, and, in the latter year, they returned to the islands in triumph.³ Painter's further career is interesting, but does not here concern us. Everything considered, we need not wonder that Bell found him troublesome in 1629. No one, however, who is at all acquainted with the strong language which men of the seventeenth century used in describing their opponents, will feel compelled to take the Governor's phrase "Luciferian pride and a headstrong perverse nature" without a grain or two of salt. Whether Mr. Stirk was right or wrong in making common cause with Painter against Bell may remain undecided,⁴ though we have seen that under a previous administration their joint opposition to Woodhouse was fully justified. One thing is certain: Bell's testimony that Mr. Stirk was "a learned and truly religious gentleman" is trebly valuable on account of the hostile context in which it stands.

Furthermore, Bell's first letter affords us a welcome piece of genealogical information. It tells us the surname of Mr. Stirk's wife, the mother of George Stirk of the Harvard Class of 1646. She was the daughter of Stephen Painter. The younger George Stirk was a born fighter and had no small share of self-assertion. His father, the

¹ i. 524 (cf. p. 45, below).

² See pp. 25-30, above.

³ i. 585, 610, 617, 631-634, 642-643.

⁴ Of three motions made in Mr. Stirk's behalf at a Council of December 18, 1628, one was passed, one was refused, and one was referred to the Company. All three concern stipend (i. 474-475).

minister, was "meek"¹ — a word which had no disagreeable connotation in those days. Perhaps the younger Stirk inherited some of his grandfather Painter's contentious disposition, — some portion of the quality which Bell's exasperated hyperbole characterizes as "Luciferian pride."

The succession of Captain Roger Wood as Governor at the end of 1629² and the restoration of Painter to the Council in 1630³ mark the end of Mr. Stirk's opposition, whatever that may have consisted in. But he still had difficulty about his stipend. On November 2, 1630, he presented to the Council his account for the past four years (1627–1630), showing that there was about £150 due him. The Council "acknowledged sincerely" that the claim was just and petitioned the Company to raise the money by adding a halfpenny in the pound to the impost on the crop of tobacco "now shipped into England."⁴ At the same meeting, the Council raised the salary of the ministers from 700 to 1000 pounds of tobacco, on account of the low price of that staple commodity.⁵

We shall hear of the salary question again. Meantime, in 1631, we find in the records a curious and picturesque item of information, which affords us a fleeting glimpse of Mr. Stirk's wife and her mother.

Men and women did not sit together in the Bermuda churches. It was the duty of the churchwardens and sidesmen to "place the p[ar]ishioners in convenient seates accordinge to the degree of the p[er]son"⁶ This was a delicate matter. On June 18, 1627, Governor Bell, then just established in office, found it advisable to issue a proclamation deprecating the "general heart burning and contention" that existed "betwixt certain inhabitants of several Tribes . . . by reason of discontents for there seating in there churches, and other such like pettie controversies."⁷ His exhortations did not avail. The women of Southampton Tribe continued to jangle. Stephen Painter, Mr. Stirk's father-in-law, could not pacify them, and Mr.

¹ See p. 46, below.

² Wood succeeded to the office between December 3 and December 29, 1629 (i. 487, 492).

³ i. 502.

⁴ i. 515–516. There is a copy of Mr. Stirk's revised account for 1627–1631 among the Duke of Manchester's papers (MS. No. 418, Report, p. 49). This shows a credit of £90 in 1630, and a balance due of £103 2s 3d.

⁵ i. 516.

⁶ Act of 1623 (i. 319).

⁷ i. 448.

Stirk himself was also unequal to the task. Therefore, on February 17, 1631, Painter applied to the Governor (Roger Wood) and Council "to be assistant vnto him for settinge of peace amongst the woemen" in this regard. Accordingly, a new plan of seating was drawn up, with the proviso that it should be submitted to the minister and vestry, who, if they found "any difficulty therein," were to report to the Council. Under this new arrangement, "the upper seat" was reserved for marriages, christenings, and churchings, and to the other seats — designated as first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth — the women of the congregation were assigned in a fixed order. Mrs. Painter, the Councillor's wife, had the first place "in the first seate," and the second place fell to her daughter, "Mrs Stirke."¹ The next four places were occupied by Mrs. Elfrith, Mrs. Bell, Mrs. Leycroft, and Mrs. Woodhouse. This list suggests that there was cause for heartburnings in the parish. Mrs. Elfrith was the wife of Captain Daniel Elfrith, who had been a close friend of Governor Bell's; Mrs. Bell was Elfrith's daughter and the ex-Governor's wife; Mrs. Leycroft was the wife of the man who had formerly superseded Painter in the Council — and who was Mrs. Woodhouse? If she was not the wife of the Governor who had once banished Mr. Stirk and Painter from the Bermudas, she must have belonged to the same family.² One would like to know how these six ladies got along together in the first seat on the women's side in the Southampton Church.

Not long after the settlement of the seating controversy, Mr. Stirk sailed for England. This was in 1632, and probably in February. In a letter, manifestly addressed at that time to the Bermuda Company or to some leading member of it, Governor Wood writes as follows:

¹ Record in Lefroy, i. 524.

² In April, 1630, Bell was still in Bermuda, but he was about to go to Santa Catalina (i. 502). He was commissioned Governor of that island on February 7, 1631 (i. 502 note 1). Apparently his wife had not yet left the Bermudas when the seating arrangements were perfected. Captain Elfrith (or Elfrey) belonged in Southampton Tribe (i. 380). He was interested in the Catalina settlement (MS. No. 416, Report, p. 40). Mrs. Bell was Captain Elfrith's daughter (MS. No. 416, Report, p. 49; Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574–1660, p. 125). Nobody knows where Captain Woodhouse was in 1631, but he had not lost his interest in the islands in 1634 (i. 405).

Or ministers seeing our comoditie decay in value, they declyne in affection and leauē vs two of them now togeather, and the third hath written to the noble gouernor [i.e., the Governor of the Company in London] to speake with the compa about his salary of 100 marks pr annum, if w^{ch} bee not payd hee will fly to the king and counsell, and my honnored friend take this from mee that I haue observed from my youth and since I was a souldier that I neuer knew a Skotsman to this day to loose the least pretence hee had to a Title of or thing due vnto him, and I am of opinion that you shall finde Mr Stirke meeke as he hath beene reputed, more vyolet in his courses than M^r Ward who is professedly oppositionis.¹

The two ministers whom Wood mentions as leaving the islands (doubtless on the same ship which carried the letter) were, beyond question, Mr. Stirk and Mr. Nathaniel Ward,² and the third, who was forwarding a petition about his hundred marks, was, we may be equally certain, Mr. Patrick Copeland.³ Obviously the Governor expected Mr. Stirk and Mr. Ward to push their claims for arrears, and he feared that the "meek" Mr. Stirk would be quite as troublesome as his "professedly oppositionis" colleague, — for Mr. Stirk was a Scotsman.⁴

Governor Wood was a good man and a person of considerable ability and much sturdy common sense. On the present occasion, however, he certainly wrote in an ill humor. The colony was in a

¹ i. 532, 710. Lefroy prints the major part of the letter twice, from the draught in Wood's Letter-book. There are variants. Thus, near the end, Lefroy's second copy reads "to loose the least pretence he had to any Title or anything due vnto him." I suspect Wood wrote: "the least pretence he had to any Title [i. e., tittle] of anything." Another variant is more important. The second printing omits "meeke," clearly by error. The letter seems to be undated, but it was certainly written in 1632, and doubtless in February.

² On October 20, 1631, Mr. Ward had presented to the Council a claim for 1115½ lbs. of tobacco, which was allowed, and he had then and there announced his intention "by Gods leauē to depart from this place by the next shipp" (i. 527). In another letter (February, 1632) Wood says that there is now only one minister in the islands (i. 531), — meaning, of course, that there will be only one left when his correspondent gets the letter (which clearly went by the ship that carried away Mr. Stirk and Mr. Ward).

³ Mr. Copeland had a special arrangement with the Company (dating from his first employment in the islands in 1626) that fixed his stipend at this sum (see i. 376, 416, 483–484).

⁴ Wood did not like Scots (i. 534, 538).



Right poortfull S^r.

I have laboured hore in
yours haue come short of
whether I rame for my
advised met. But by the
me by Mr Gaswell, he
forsoe to returne wth out
weatness, not able to
nor the people. So that
in great need of helpe
for, without money. No
two noble London, who
hoping that by yo^r me
you shall doe, I will sh
will doe nothing but
for the Count. I hope
from Somer Flandres the
of Januari 1633

Letter from George Stirke to Sir

Engraved for The Colone
from the Original among the Duke of Man-

works of the Gospell twelve years, & for these I
waged. Two years ago I was in England,
in sake, to go to the Bath, as Physician and
position of the Court, who were sett against
my debt, & so I delayed me, that I was
help, hitherto, whose I have continued in great
d. The Generall. here will be no doctor,
in a straight between them. Now I am
my disease, w^t I dare not come to facts
for I have appealed to yo^r worl^d, and the
entered onto the Court & Mr Barbor.
on, something may be obtained. What saud
it, because I am perswaded that you
will be both just before God, & Honourable
w^t I rest, remanding you to God

to work to serve you
George Stirke.

Rich. 27 January 1633-4
of Massachusetts
No. 419 in the Public Record Office



bad way, and he felt as if he were being abandoned. Still, he was habitually just and moderate, and, after his irritation passed, he spoke of Mr. Stirk in quite a different strain, as we shall see in a moment. His testimony, even in this letter, that Mr. Stirk was reputed to be "meek" is valuable. In still another letter (January 12, 1633), Wood says, speaking of the ministers, that "these men will loose nothing that may bee gotten," but adds, with significant frankness, "nor ought they to doe it beeing their due."¹ And in general it is quite clear that, in all the troubles over this salary question, Mr. Stirk and his friend Mr. Copeland were simply trying to get what belonged to them.

Mr. Stirk himself tells us what his purpose was in visiting England in 1632. We have two documents from his hand relating to this journey, — one is a letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, dated, "ffrom Somer Islandes the 27th of January 1633" (i. e., 1633–34); the other a petition to Lord Say and other members of the Company, undated, but written at the same time as the letter. These tell their own pathetic story. I subjoin them, since they have never been printed.

I²

Right wor^{pfull} Sr

I haue laboured heere in the worke of the Gospell twelue yeares, & for these sixe yeares haue come short of my wages. Two yeares agoe I was in England, whether I came for my healths sake, to goe to the Bath, as Physycyans aduised mee. But by the opposition of the Court, who were sett against me by Mr Caswell,³ they denied my debt, & soe delayed me, that I was forced to returne wthout any help, hither, where I haue continued in great weaknesse, not able to trauell. The Gouerno^r heere will bee no debtor, nor the people, soe that I am in a straight betweene three. Now I am in great need of helpe for my disease, w^{ch} I dare not come to seeke for, without Money. Wherefore I haue appealed to yo^r wor^p, and the two noble Lordes, who lately entred vnto the Court, & Mr Barber. hoping that by yo^r Mediation, something may be obtained. Whatsoeuer you shall doe, I will stand to it, because I am perswaded that you

¹ i. 534.

² Manchester Papers, No. 419, Public Record Office, London.

³ Richard Caswell (Casewell), a man of influence in the Bermuda Company, and at one time Treasurer.

will doe nothing but that w^{ch} is both iust before God, & honourable for the Court. In hope of w^{ch} I rest, comending you to God
ffrom So^mer Islandes the 27th of January 1633

Yor^r wor^{ps} to serue you

GEORGE STIRK.

[Addressed ¹]

To the right wor^{pfull} Sr Nathaniell Rich these deliuer

[Endorsed]

M^r Stirke May. 1634

II ²

To the right hono^{ble} The Lord Saye, & The Lord Brookes The right wor^{pfull} Sr Nathaiell Rich, And the wor^{pfull} Mr Gabriell Barber.

The humble petition of George Stirke Minister in the So^mer Islandes.

Humbly sheweth. That twelue yeares I haue laboured in the worke of the Gospell in these Islandes, & for diuers yeares, haue come short of my wages, & w^{ch} is worse, none will be my debtors. Two yeares agoe when I came to England to goe to the Bath, & hoped that the Company would allow me a part of Two hundred poundes, then due to me, to beare my charges thither, & backe againe to these Islandes. They disclaymed the debt, & delayed me soe long, that the season was past, & at last (when I obtained some money) they bound me to returne wth the first Ship, soe that I lost my health, & returned worse then I came. When I was come hither, I deliuered my account to the Gouerno^r, & his Counsell, who receiued it, & caused it to be recorded in the Register. But they will not be debtors. And the people neuer payed me any thing, soe that they may say, they are not debtors. Thus betweene three, I am a loser. There is a debt due to me, w^{ch} none denyes, but I can find no debtor. If I were able to beare it, I would be silent, & hold my peace. But my weaknesse is such, as I haue great need of releefe, & if I could, would gladly returne to England, to try whether by the blessing of God I may recouer my strength. ffor now I am not able to trauell one myle, except I be borne vp by the armes. But I am afraid to come, least I be forced (as I was before) to returne wthout helpe, for want of meanes. Wherefore I humbly sue to yor hono^{rs}, & wor^{ps} to be Mediato^{rs} for me to the hono^{ble} Court, that they would pay the remainder of my account, w^{ch} I haue sent to you. If either Iustice, or Mercy will prevaile wth them, I sue for this debt in both respects. It is a worke of Mercy to releue the distressed, & not to suffer a poore Minister to perish (as I am likely) for

¹ The address (in Mr. Stirk's hand) is on the outside. There is also a seal, but the impression is indistinct.

² Manchester Papers, No. 422, Public Record Office, London.



To the right honble The Lord Mayor & the Lord Recorder
The right worlfe Sir Nathanael Rich, And the worthfull
Mr Gaspard Buxfer.

The humble petition of George Stark minister in the Somers S[ta]rke
in General Assembly.

Messrs. & the Company, & Committee, & have been all ready for short
and they lay no particular charge on their Ministers. And therefore when one night
they cannot be present, but the debt falls equally upon both. They never payed the Government
anything as when the remuneration made up them, were not otherwise. It happened, at Camp 12th May, 1793,
that people, Mr. Lewis, my friend, and only friend of the ministers, of
the Country pay a visit, or rather not at all (whole art of
it be with his hands). And why should officers think he payed, & was paid? It is
usefull, & of colour they ought to have al great care) & no damage
use any demands, to obtain no. & from thence to have 10. pounds
not yield to this, & do not in trouble & for my part I have a
letter, either from the General, & General, or from the people, for without some power from them
that never paid before. Or if the Company will none be composition as the
Lion of the whole, & am contented, & do not exactly recollect my people to have 10. l.
else without better you place ought appear, & will be remitted as it, & shall enter w^t Hanapie

George Stirke
Esq: humble petitioner

George Stirke

Solution of "George Stirke, January 16. 1793."

Approved for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original among the Papers of the State of Massachusetts, being in the Public Record Office.

want of helpe. It is a worke of Iustice to pay, that w^{ch} yo^r Court is bound to pay. The booke of Orders sayeth. Article 154. That the Ministers shall haue soe much yearly, as the Company, & they shall agree vpon. And in the Court twelue yeares agoe, they agreed vpon 100 markes, & wth this condition sent fower Ministers wth Capt Bernard of w^{ch} I was one. And to fullfill this condition the Gouerno^r hath taken all the Glebelandes, & servantes vnto his handes, soe that these twelue yeares, I neuer had a foote of Land, but sixe acres about my house, & that wthin these fife yeares. As for the people I neuer was suffered to receiue any thing from them, but the Gouerno^r receiued all, & payed all. Wherfore I demand my wages of the Company, according to their Law, agreem^t, & promise. Moreouer, The Company, & Country are, & haue beeene alwaies esteemed as one body. And heere also they pay ioyntlie in their Leauies to the Ministers. And therefore when our wages fall short, they cannot be seuered, but the debt falleth equally vpon both. They euer payed the Gouerno^{rs} & Ministers, when the couenants made wth them, were not otherwise fulfilled, as Capt Butler, Capt Woodhouse, Mr Lewis,¹ Mr Ward, And why should I be exempted? The imposition on the tobacco, w^{ch} the Country pay aswell, or rather more then they, will defray all charges of the Ministers, if it be well husbanded. And why should officers theere be payed? And Officers heere (who are as needfull, & of whom they ought to haue as great a care) be neglected. Yo^r hono^{rs}, & wor^{ps} doe see my demandes, to obtaine w^{ch} I humbly craue yo^r fauourable assistance. But if the Company will not yeild to this, I doe intreate that I may haue a warrant from the Courte, to recouer my right heere, either from the Gouerno^r, & Counsell, or from the people, for without some power from thence I shall neuer speed heere. Or if the Company will come to composition wth me, & giue me something in Lieu of the whole, I am contented, & doe freely submitt my selfe to yo^r hono^{rs}, & wor^{ps} soe as whatsoeuer you shall agree vpon, I will be contented wth it, & shall euer rest thankfull

Yo^r humble petitioner

GEORGE STIRK.

[Addressed²]

To S^r Nathaneel Rich.

Mr Stirke . . .³ Barmudas

[Endorsed]

Mr Stirke from Barmuda

May. 1634

¹ I. e., Mr. Lewes Hughes, who is frequently called "Mr. Lewes" (as by Butler, pp. 72, 81, 91, etc.).

² The address, which is on the outside, is not in Stirk's hand.

³ Perhaps "m[^r]," i. e., Minister.

From these documents we learn not only that Mr. Stirk went to England in search of health in 1632, but that he was so thwarted in his attempts to collect his overdue salary that he was unable to visit Bath, as he had intended. He seems to have returned to the Bermudas in the same year. In January, 1633, Governor Wood writes that "the Compa very honnourably supply our ministers stipend in Tobacco with money to a good value, as of late they haue done to M^r Stirke M^r Coapland and M^r Ward."¹ In the same year (or possibly in 1634) we find the salary settled at £40. Here again our authority is Governor Wood. In a letter of 1633 or 1634, intended for the famous divine and theologian William Ames, whom Wood hoped to divert from Massachusetts to Bermuda,² the Governor writes:³ "We haue but 2 ministers, both Scotish men Th' one is called Georg. Stirke who is very learned but I fear not long lyved, hee hath all your works that are extant, and admires yo^r Coronis,⁴ and greatly applauds all the rest. Th' other M^r Patricke Coapland who hath travelled long, twice to the East Indies, and now settled himselfe here, having purchased 5 shares of land on which hee hath builded and disbursed £1000 sterl^{ing}. . . . Their meanes is now settled at £40 sterl^{ing} p. annum."⁵

This passage is agreeable reading, after the Governor's previous outburst. Still more agreeable is his tribute to Mr. Stirk in another letter, written probably in 1634: "I sincerely acknowledge M^r Stirke is the most contented man wth his stipend of £40 p^r annum that may be."⁶

Governor Wood's remark that the Company makes up to the

¹ i. 534. In this letter Wood speaks of having "received a commission from the company for continuacoen of my Gouernm^t for three yeares more" (i. 534). His first term expired in December, 1632. No doubt Mr. Stirk arrived by the same ship that brought the new commission. We have learned from his petition of January, 1634, that in 1632, after considerable delay in England, the Company paid him some money and required him to return to the Bermudas by the next ship (p. 48, above).

² See p. 61, below.

³ General Lefroy thinks this letter was addressed to the Rev. Nathaniel Bernard, but that is out of the question. See pp. 60-69, below.

⁴ I have restored this word *Coronis* according to a conjecture suggested in my Note on Dr. William Ames (p. 65, below).

⁵ i. 536. See also the next letter given by Lefroy (i. 536-537).

⁶ i. 537.

ministers the deficiency in their stipends occasioned by the low price of tobacco seems to have been based rather upon promises and part payments than upon full performance. For on January 27, 1634, as we have seen, Mr. Stirk was obliged to petition for his arrears of salary. He was then in the islands, and so weak (perhaps from rheumatism) that he could not walk any distance without the support of two men. He feared for his life unless he could visit Bath and take the waters. His petition and letter reached Sir Nathaniel Rich in May, 1634.

Meantime, shortly after his return to the islands, Mr. Stirk had been concerned in a curious and highly interesting affair, about which the "iniquity of oblivion" has spared us but scanty details. Under date of June 1, 1634, Winthrop's Journal has the following entry:

The Thunder, which went to Bermuda the 17th October, now returned, bringing corn and goats from Virginia, (for the weavils had taken the corn at Bermuda before they came there). Ensign Jenyson went in her for pilot, and related, at his return, that there was a very great change in Bermuda since he dwelt there, divers lewd persons being become good Christians. They have three ministers, (one a Scotchman) who take great pains among them, and had lately (by prayer and fasting) dispossessed one possessed with a devil. They obtained his recovery while the congregation were assembled.¹

The visit of the Thunder is mentioned by Governor Roger Wood in two of his letters,² both clearly dating from the same time, — the end of 1633 or the early part of 1634. But only in Winthrop is there any record of the excellent instance of psychotherapy which our ancestors — differing from their self-sufficient descendants of the present day in terminology alone — called "dispossession of one possessed with a devil." Collation of dates establishes the fact that Mr.

¹ Winthrop's Journal (Savage's edition), i. 133 (159).

² See Lefroy, i. 535, 536. Neither letter appears to be dated in Wood's Letter-book. Lefroy dates one of them 1633, the other 1634. Close resemblance in phraseology suggests that they were written at the same time. Wood does not call the Thunder by name, but speaks of the recent arrival and the presence of a ship from New England: "Here is a shippe come from New England for trade wth vs for victualls" (first letter); "some men that are come now vnto vs in a shippe from thence, to commerce with vs for victualls and provisions from vs" (second letter).

Stirk bore his part in this remarkable cure, which must have occurred late in 1633 or early in 1634.

Mr. Stirk's dignified and touching appeal of January, 1634, seems to have stirred the Company to action. At all events, he found means to go to England once more, probably in that year.¹ We have no record of his sailing, but we know that he returned to the islands again in 1635, for the name "Minister Geo: Turk 40" (i.e., aged 40) is recorded on September 30, 1635, among the passengers "aboard the Dors^t John Flower Mr bound for y^e Bormodos."² On the strength of this entry, General Lefroy enters "Turk, Rev. George" in his list of Bermuda ministers, with the remark: "This minister was a passenger for the Somers Islands, by the *Dorset*, Sept. 30, 1635 (see Hotten's Lists), beyond which nothing is known of him."³ But we need not have a moment's hesitation in reading "George Stirk" instead of the "Geo: Turk" of the Dorset's passenger list. We have merely an example of a well-known kind of *error by the ear*.

In the course of this his last visit to England, Mr. Stirk must have arranged for the publication of his little volume of Latin verse,—the *Musæ Somerenses*,—which appeared in London in 1635.⁴ Very probably it was printed while he was in the mother country, for the license is dated July 30, 1635, and, as we have seen, the Dorset did not sail before the last day of September.

Mr. Stirk cannot have reached his home in Bermuda before December, 1635. The hardships of the voyage doubtless broke down still further his already delicate health. He died in 1637,⁵ leaving a widow and at least two young children,—a son, George, and a daughter whose name we do not know. In a letter of August 11, in that year, the Bermuda Company signified the grant to his widow of the use of five acres of land for life for the education of her children.⁶

¹ It must have been later than May, 1634, the date on which Sir Nathaniel Rich received the letter and petition of January, 1634 (see pp. 48-49, above).

² Hotten, Original Lists, p. 133.

³ i. 708.

⁴ See pp. 56 ff, below.

⁵ The year is inferred from the grant to his widow.

⁶ i. 708. I cannot tell whether the word "education" stands in the original letter or not. If so, it may mean "bringing up" rather than "education" in our sense. In any case, the children were young. Mr. Stirk married one of his parishioners, and he did not come to the island himself until 1622. The younger George Stirk did not take his degree at Harvard until 1646.

After the elder Mr. Stirk's death, in 1637, his widow very likely took her two children to her father's house. On December, 1639, Mr. Patrick Copeland wrote to Governor Winthrop as follows:

I have sent you a small poesie of one of our preachers, whom the Lord hath taken to himselfe: hee hath left behinde him a hopefull sonne of his owne name, who is reasonable well entred in the Latine tongue. If there be any good schole and schole maister with you, I could wish with all my heart that hee might have his education rather with you, then in old England, where our company there have . . . promised after a yeere or two to take charge of his education with them. Hee is a fatherlesse childe and of good expectation, if God sanctifie his spirit.¹

The boy here mentioned, the younger George Stirk, went to New England, and he was graduated at Harvard College in 1646. In 1647 he was practising medicine, doubtless in Boston, where we know he was settled in that profession in 1648 and 1650.

The fortunes of George Stirk the younger, whose career was very remarkable, must form the subject of a separate paper. Of the daughter we have only a single record, but for which we should not know of her existence. In a MS volume of Henry Dunster's is a copy of a letter from Mr. Nathaniel White's Independent Church at Eleuthera to the brethren in Boston. At the end of the copy is a note, in the hand of Increase Mather, to the effect that the messengers who brought the letter, as well as the ship's crew, "came all in health to Boston y^e 6^t of 6^{mo} or August. & wth y^m Mr Painter Mr Whites son Nat. wh: Mr Stirk's sister &c. 1650."² The presence of Stephen Painter and his granddaughter, the younger Mr. Stirk's sister, on board this ship from Eleuthera is fully explained by a consideration of what had been happening in the Bermudas.

There had been troublous times in the islands. In 1644 Mr. Nathaniel White formed his independent church there, which both Mr. Copeland and Stephen Painter joined. In 1647 both White and Painter were indicted for high treason. In 1648 they were

¹ 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 279. The letter is dated "Pagets-Tribe, this 4th of Decemb. 1639." Winthrop dates its receipt "(5) 7. -40."

² Cf. Sibley, Harvard Graduates, i. 140; Neill, Virginia Vetusta, pp. 196-197; Publications of this Society, iii. 421. The manuscript is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

allowed to go to England to defend themselves before the Company. We find them there on June 27 and September 5 of that year. On the 6th of December, 1648, they were back in the Bermudas, with a full acquittal.¹ But in the next year (1649) there was a Royalist uprising, John Trimingham was declared Governor, and the members of the Independent Church had to conform or leave the colony. Mr. White and a considerable number of his flock preferred banishment to conformity, and went with Captain Sayle to his new settlement in Eleuthera in the autumn of 1649.² Painter and his granddaughter were manifestly among them — and very likely also Mrs. Painter and Mrs. Stirk, who — if they were still living — can hardly have been left behind. When, in the next summer (1650), a ship set sail from Eleuthera for Boston, Painter and his granddaughter took passage, arriving, as we have seen, on August 6.³ Since we hear nothing of either Mrs. Painter or Mrs. Stirk, it is possible that they had succumbed to the hardships of the winter; but, as the Dunster MS does not profess to give anything like a complete list of the passengers, it is not impossible that they too were on board.⁴ At all events, George Stirk, the young Boston physician, had the pleasure of a visit from his sister and his maternal grandfather.

Meantime, in May, 1650, a ship from London had brought a Governor's commission to Captain Forster and an order of the Company reappointing Painter to the Council. This body disliked the order in favor of Painter, "but he beinge not in these Islands that obstacle was remoued."⁵ On October 3, 1650, the Long Parliament prohibited trade with the Bermudas, as being in rebellion against the Commonwealth and government of England.⁶ On the first day of January, 1652, the Governor and Council wrote to the Company, complaining that they had not received instructions for a long time. They had seen the printed Act of Parliament, and protested earnestly against being called rebels and traitors.⁷ On February 25,

¹ i. 631–634, 640–643.

² i. 653–655; ii. 8–11, 13, 20, 118.

³ See p. 53, above.

⁴ The exiles to Eleuthera were recalled in 1650 (ii. 8–11, 13, 20). That Mrs. Stirk, at least, was dead, seems to be a safe inference from the fact that Dunster specifies "Mr. Stirk's sister" and not "Mr. Stirk's mother."

⁵ i. 659; ii. 13.

⁶ i. 660.

⁷ i. 671–673.

1652, however, there is a record which acknowledges the receipt of a General Letter from the Company and submits to the "Comon wealth of England as yt is now established." In this record "Mr Stephen Painter" reappears in the list of Councillors present and acting.¹

We left Painter in Boston in August, 1650, when he and his granddaughter (Miss Stirk) had just arrived from Eleuthera. In 1651, his grandson, George Stirk, went to England,² where he remained for the rest of his life, becoming a well-known physician in London. In this same year (1651) we find Painter in England, presenting, with several others, a petition which recites that they have been "inforced from their relations . . . in the Sommer Islands" and are "in a state of penury," and praying "that their peace may be made and themselves transported thither before they perish of want."³ We cannot doubt, therefore, that all three — Painter and George Stirk the younger and Miss Stirk — went from Boston to England together, and that Painter's triumphant return to the Bermudas was by the same ship which brought the instructions mentioned in the Council record of February 25, 1652, — the instructions which led that body to submit to the Commonwealth. What became of Miss Stirk we do not know. She may have stayed in England with her brother, who, as we have good reason to believe, was a family man; but it is equally possible that she went back to the islands with her grandfather.

From Painter's return in 1652 until his death he continued to be an important man in the islands. He was continuously a member of the Council,⁴ and on September 13, 1658, the Company made him

¹ i. 673-674.

² It is not absolutely certain that Stirk was in England in 1651, but we have to choose between that year and 1652 and the probability is strongly in favor of the earlier date. The evidence comes from an undated tract of Stirk's in the British Museum, printed between October 19, 1663, and September 30, 1664, entitled George Starkeys Pill Vindicated. That Stirk was practising medicine in Boston as late as 1650 is proved by an entry in William Aspinwall's MS. Notarial Records, p. 372 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxii. 304). The same entry proves that he was practising there in 1648.

³ Lefroy, ii. 24 (from a pamphlet entitled Petition from the Governor and Company of the Sommer Islands, &c., to the Council of State, July 19, 1651).

⁴ ii. 607, 609, 627, 94.

Councillor for life.¹ In his Councillor's capacity he had a share in the witchcraft prosecutions of 1653 and 1655.² In 1655 he became Captain of Paget's Fort,³ and soon after Sheriff, an office of high dignity in the islands. In June, 1658, however, he was too "infirm of body" to perform the sheriff's duties⁴ and his successor was appointed in the same year.⁵ His will was proved in May, 1661.⁶ In Richard Norwood's Survey of the islands, made in 1662 and 1663, "Mr Stephen Painter of Southampton tribe his heires or assignes" are recorded as owning a "Mansion house and two shares of land," estimated at 49 acres, "Abutting at y^e west end vpon y^e westerne sea, and at y^e east end vpon y^e Great sound. Lying betweene y^e lands of Cap^t Thomas Richards to y^e southwards & M^{rs} Jane Leacroft to y^e northwards."⁷ John Painter, who with fifty-three others signed a petition to the King in 1679, praying that the affairs of the Bermudas be taken out of the Company's hands, and that a royal governor be appointed,⁸ was, I suppose, Stephen Painter's son.

We have followed the career of the Rev. George Stirk from 1622 to his death in 1637 with some particularity, not because of its importance in itself, but for the light which it throws upon the times and their manners. Yet he is a figure not without interest for his own sake, — a meek, but firm and courageous minister of the Church of England, learned and truly religious, fallen upon troublous times in a rough and struggling colony. Of his learning and culture we have but a single piece of ocular evidence, — the "small poesie" which his friend and colleague, Mr. Patrick Copeland, sent to Governor Winthrop in 1639.

The "small poesie" was a little volume of Latin elegiacs, published in London in 1635, and entitled *Musæ Somerenses*.⁹ It is excessively rare, but there is a copy in the Library of Yale University,¹⁰ —

¹ ii. 120.

² ii. 607, 609, 627.

³ ii. 53.

⁴ ii. 111.

⁵ ii. 120.

⁶ ii. 134 note.

⁷ ii. 704-705.

⁸ ii. 473-475.

⁹ *Musæ Somerenses*: *Id est, Sacræ Historiæ series, à Mundi Creatione, ad Linguarum confusionem Poeticè deducta; Authore Georgio Stirk, sacri Evangelii in Somerensibus Insulis Ministro. Ad usum Scholæ, quam illic, ante annos duos instituere cœpit illustrissima Societas. Londini, Excusum per E. P. 1635.* The licenser's date is "Iulii 30. 1635."

¹⁰ Yale College Pamphlets, Vol. 52. I am greatly indebted to our associate Dr. Franklin B. Dexter, of the Yale library, for enabling me to examine this

doubtless the very copy which Mr. Patrick Copeland presented to Governor Winthrop in 1639.¹ The poem itself, which occupies twelve out of the twenty pages of the volume,² was written in the islands in "spare hours."³ It is headed "Historiæ Sacræ." Mr. Stirk, after a brief invocation, sets forth succinctly some of the fundamental doctrines of orthodox Christianity, — monotheism, the Trinity, the nature of the Holy Ghost, the equality of the Father and the Son, and the creation of the world by all Three Persons. He then begins his Old Testament history, which he brings down to the Confusion of Tongues and the consequent dispersal of mankind throughout the earth. The work was intended for use in a school which the Bermuda Company had decided to establish.⁴ It was the author's purpose, if his efforts were favorably received, to treat the whole course of biblical narrative in the same way, in order that the young might learn sacred history along with the elements of Latin. One thinks involuntarily of the days of Julian the Apostate, when the two Apollinarii, to elude the tyrant's edict, composed their Sacred History (in imitation of Homer) and their Christian Pindar, Euripides, and Menander.

rare tract under exceptionally favorable circumstances, and to my friend Professor Hanns Oertel for a careful collation of my extracts (in proof) with the original.

¹ A number of books once belonging to the Winthrop family are in the Yale library.

² Of the eight pages remaining the first has the title, the second is blank, then follow four pages prefatory (in Latin prose), then (after the separately paged poem of twelve pages) two more pages "Ad Lectorem" in Latin prose.

³ "In insulis vestris horis succisivis," says Mr. Stirk in his dedicatory address to the Bermuda Company.

⁴ This school had not been opened when Mr. Stirk wrote, as appears from his address to the Reader and from his dedication to the Company ("Illustrissimæ & Nobilissimæ Societati Somerensi"), but from the latter it is clear that the Company had voted to establish it and had set aside certain lands for the support of a schoolmaster ("de schola in vestris insulis legem tulistis, & ad ludimagistrum alendum agri aliquot jugera consecrâstis"). The title-page shows that this vote was passed two years before the Musæ Somerenses was published. We have no other record of this vote of 1633, but a letter of Governor Wood's (dated 1634 by Lefroy) tells us that Mr. Copeland was hoping for such an order: "Mr. Copeland thinks the Company will give all their common land to build a free School, as some of vs here have done with ours" (i. 395 note 1). I suspect Wood's letter was really written in 1633, — the year in which, as Mr. Stirk's words prove, some action of the kind was really taken by the Company.

Mr. Stirk's Latin verses are fluent enough, and he shows some skill in condensing his material. Valueless as the work may seem to a modern reader, it at least proves that the author's reputation for scholarship and piety was not undeserved. The following passages will afford some idea of the style. The first is the exordium, the second gives an account of the Fall of the Angels, and the third (which concludes the poem) describes the Confusion of Tongues.

Sacra salutiferi resero mysteria verbi,
Et rectam ad cœli limina, monstro viam.
Te cano, summe Pater, teq; ô dulcissime Fili,
Teq; simul numeris, Spiritus alme, piis.
Vos (precor) audacem salebras per, & invia musam
Ducite, quâ rarum semita pandit iter.

Exordium.

Hic etiam Angelicis dederat primordia turmis,
Quorum ingens numerus, gloria magna fuit.
In quibus unus erat, nulli splendore secundus,
Nullo, fœlici conditione minor:
Quem dedit è summo ventosa superbia cœlo
Præcipitem, tristes ad Phlegetontis aquas.
Millia multa trahens secum delapsus ab alto est,
Crimine qui similes suppicioq; pates.
Circumeunt totum multis legionibus orbem,
Ut quoscunq; queunt, in sua fata trahant.
At Pater omnipotens vinclis & carcere frenat
Dæmonas, & servos servat ubiq; suos.
Cætera spirituum mansit sine crimine turba,
Atq; immota ipsis gloria prima manet.
Ante thronum stantes, sacro modulamine semper,
Tres una sanctos in Deitate canunt.
Illiis à nutu pendent, & jussa capessunt,
Circa credentes & sua castra locant.

Angeli creantur.

*Lapsus Angelorum,
qui nunc diaboli.*

Insanum mundus conspirat tollere molem,
Ut suus æterno tempore duret honos.

*Turrim Babel condere
moliuntur.*

Ac si fata sinant, rerum quę frēna gubernet,
Olim totius que caput orbis erit.

At Pater omnipotens hęc impia facta perosus,
Incœptum ambigua voce diremit opus.

Linguæ confunduntur.

Vnus erat sermo cunctis, vox una per orbem,
Ac nulli alterius vox peregrina fuit.

At nunc insanis dum condunt molibus arcem,
Omnes consuetos dedidicere sonos.

Proque suis alios, cunctis mirantibus edu

Notaque quę nuper, barbara verba vocant.
Cessat ab officio structor pro robore saxum

*Ab opere incæpti¹
desistunt.*

Perrigit ac calcem dum petit alter aqua

Pro serra, funem, pro resti aut fune securim,
Pro clavo terebram, pro qua licet rotam

*Pro clavo terebram, pro que ligare rotam.
Omnis condandi contra rite lacibus ibant.*

Omnia condenda contrafia legibus ibant,
Nec dicitur nisi quod sit illud.

Nec dominus servum, nec capit alter herum.

Quid faciant? turrim fato cogente relinquunt,

Et quo quemque vocat fors animusque, migrant. *In varias regiones abeunt.*
Et quibus una fuit tunc cognita lingua, coibant.

Et statuunt uno iura tenenda loco

Hinc fit ut externis silent regianibus illa

Hinc sit ut externis silent regibus sine,
Cui fuit in patria Lingua diserta sua

Cui fuit in patria Lingua diserta sua.
Prima hinc regnorum & populorum nominis erit.

Prima hinc regnum, & populorum venit ad
Iudeam, ad iudeos, ad Iudeam.

In gentes terram dissona Lingua seca
Hi sicut in aliis litoribus etiam in

Hinc odia & bellum, dum quos confinia jungunt,

Hostes inter se vox peregrina facit.²

*Variasque gentes,
& regna constituunt.*

¹ The final *i* and half of the *t* are pared off by the binder.

² The Address to the Reader and that to the Bermuda Company are interesting enough to reprint, in view of the exceeding rarity of Mr. Stirk's volume. In the Address to the Company, the original has a marginal reference, "Psal. 2. 8", opposite the sentence "Promisit olim Deus" in line 8.

Ad Lectorem.

Quæris forsitan amice Lector, cur pœsin hanc non tam concludam, quam abrum-pam. In promptu responsio est: hæc Scholæ nondum apertæ satis esse videntur. Si eam aperuerit nobilis nostra Societas, ut ex orienti bene ominor, sic florenti gratulabor, si vitam prorogaverit Deus. Hæc etiam tentandis doctorum judiciis sufficiunt. Si hæc genium habere videbuntur, quo possint vivere, plura, & forsitan meliora dabimus, ut sunt δευτέραι φροντίδες ἀμεινόνες.

Si verò tam sacrum opus ingenii culpa deterere videbor, cedo, & cursu tradolam
lampada. Hac spe tamen, fore ut hoc exemplo alii, quibus opportunitas melior,

Mr. KITTREDGE also made the following communication:

A NOTE ON DR. WILLIAM AMES

Captain Roger Wood, a sturdy and sensible old soldier¹ of Puritanic tendencies in religion,² was Governor of the Bermudas for two

& vena ditior, per totam Scripturam carmen, deducant: ut pueri simul cum Lingua Latina sacræ Historiæ seriem à teneris imbibant.

G. S.

ILLUSTRISSIMÆ
& Nobilissimæ Socie-
tati Somerensi, dominis
suis summa observan-
tia colendis.

Svperioribus sæculis (illistrissimi & amplissimi viri) occidentalis India adeò erat incognita, ut Ptolomæus ultra Herculis columnas (quæ in Gadibus erant) nullam esse terram putaverit. Nunc verò postremo hoc mundi senescentis ævo, novum orbem, vetere non minorem deus aperuit. Non ut preciosas merces negotiatores hinc aveherent, avecitis ditescerent: nec ut novis colonis sit habitandi locus. Nam neque tanti sunt merces illæ, ut ad eas effundendas terra tamdiu ignota patefieret; neq; Europæis, in suis regionibus deest habitatio satis ampla. Sed majus quid divina spectat clementia. Promisit olim Deus filio suo se mundi fines daturum. Nunc præstat, quod olim dixit. Quare piè faciunt qui magnum hoc opus maximè curant, ut ipsorum opera Scripturæ impleantur; barbari convertantur, & Regni Christi pomæria latiùs dilatentur. Et vos (honoranda societas) opus Deo gratum, & vestra dignum pietate fecistis, cum de schola in vestris insulis instituenda legem tulistis, & ad ludimagistrum alendum agri aliquot jugera consecrâstis. Hæc via est ad barbaros convertendos rectissima. Nam in schola Somerensi non solùm liberi nostri (quorum illic numerus est, pro insulæ amplitudine non parvus) sed etiam Americani institui possunt, idque tutò: ubi nullus est hostium metus, qui à studiis absterreat: sed pax tranquilla quæ musis semper amica est. Nullum erit cum suis popularibus commercium, qui à discendo dissuadeant, aut patriis superstitionibus corrumpant, aut ad transfigendum allicant. Quanti autem momenti sit Americanorum uti opera ad suos convertendos non opus est dicere. Cum ergo tantum hinc ad evangelium propagandum emolumenti pro veniat, vos (spero) qui operis tam pii, ante annos duos fundamenta fæliciter jecistis, idem ad dei gloriam ad exitum perducetis. Qua spe inductus, poesin hanc, quam in insulis vestris horis succisivis scripsit, scholæ vestræ, quæ vestris jam surgit, & brevi (spero) florebit auspiciis, sub vestri nominis umbra, & tutela, dicat consecratque

Vester humillimus in Do-
mino servus,
Georgius Stirk.

¹ In a letter, probably of 1632, Wood speaks of something "that I haue observed from my youth and since I was a soouldier" (J. H. Lefroy, Memorials of the Bermudas, i. 532).

² See Lefroy, i. 535, 536, 540-542, 543.

terms of three years each.¹ His administration began in December, 1629.² For his second term the records are almost wholly lacking, but a tattered Letter-book of his is preserved, from which Major-General Lefroy has published a number of draughts of missives which Wood sent to England from 1632 to 1634.³ One of these letters deserves more study than it has yet received, for, when rightly interpreted, it affords us a curious fact, hitherto unregistered, about a man who was once very eminent in theological circles and whose name is still celebrated in the annals of moral philosophy.

I give the letter exactly as it is printed by Lefroy, who does not reproduce quite the whole of it.

. . . As there is a supposition that you intend to come for New England, and M^r Peeters, as many reverent Divines are gone from England before you, as I heare by the reporte of some men that are come now vnto vs in a shippe from thence, to commerce with vs for victualls and provisions from vs Then let me desire you to leaue that resolution and come to the Burmoodaes where you are most entirely beloved and reverenced, and where although wee are poore by reason of the lowe esteeme of our Tobacco which is the chiefest comoditie wee haue to subsist withall, yet here is plenty of poultre and fish and delicate fruits as the world yields We haue but 2 ministers, both Scotish men Th' one is called Georg. Stirke who is very learned but I fear not long lyved, hee hath all your works that are extant, and admires yo^r . . . ,⁴ and greatly applauds all the rest Th' other M^r Patricke Coapland⁵ who hath travelled long, twice to the East Indies, and now settled himselfe here, having purchased 5 shares of land on which he hath builded and disbursed £1000 sterl^{ing},

¹ See his letter of January 12, 1632-33 (Lefroy, i. 534).

² Lefroy, i. 492.

³ i. 527, 531-543, 710. Lefroy's publication of these letters is usually (or often) in extracts. There are dated letters of 1631-32 (i. 527, 531, 532), 1632 (i. 533), 1632-33 (i. 534), and (as Lefroy says, i. 531) 1634.

⁴ Lefroy remarks: "The name of the work quoted is quite unintelligible, Towins or Towius" (i. 536 note 1).

⁵ For Patrick Copland or Copeland, see Lefroy, index; 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 98; 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 277, 350; Neill, The English Colonization of America during the Seventeenth Century, 1871, chaps. vii-x; Virginia's God be Thanked, or A Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare. Preached by Patrick Copland at Bow-Church in Cheapside, before the Honorable Virginia Company, on Thursday, the 18. of April 1622 . . . London, 1622 (Harvard College Library).

and wee expect 2 more this next yeare.¹ Theire means is now settled at £40 sterling p. annum, w^{ch} is as good as 100 markes in England for their disbursements are here very little; and for my p.ticular if there come a single man ever, I will thinke myselfe happie to enjoy his company, if hee will accept my house and his dyett with me without any disbursement Althoughe there is 2 parsonage houses readie built and very conveniently seated to entertayne such as shall come ouer to possesse them; Wee are alsoe farre more secure from the Hiararchicall Jurisdiction then New England is, for noe great prelate will leave his Pontificall pallace to take his journey to liue vpon a barren rock. And all our Islands are not worth a Bishopricke and there are many men of great wealth and estates and almost whole congregations gone wth their Pastors, where they build townes and call them according to those from whence they come as Boston Yarmoth² &c Ours is a most holsome *air*, that suiteth every³ creature in these Islands Theires is a cold clymate full of *severitie* . . . thinke that when they haue well settled themselves they must be brought under the *Archbishop* of Canterburie and haue a suffragan sent to reduce them into the fould of their old shepheards for the king will not be *quit* of his subjects wheresouer they liue vnder his lawes and obedience. All this discourse I relate to divert you from any thoughts to *seek liberty* that way. . . .⁴ The letter concludes with an offering of a small piece of Tobaco for the correspondents owne drinking and a parcel of Potatoes for M^{rs} Ames.

This letter is not dated nor is it accompanied by the name of the person to whom it was addressed. In Lefroy's opinion, it was in-

¹ If the intended recipient of this letter were to accept Governor Wood's invitation, the total number of ministers contemplated would be five. This corresponds to an item in the "generall Leuy" for 1630 (at a Council of November 2, 1630, as it seems): "Inprmis for 5 ministers stipends albeit but 4 resident in the Islands" (Lefroy, i. 517). Of the four who were in the service in 1630, Mr. Richard Staples was discharged on November 2 of that year and Mr. Nathaniel Ward resigned on October 20, 1631 (i. 527). This left only Mr. Stirk and Mr. Copeland in the islands. Mr. Stirk went to England soon after — apparently in February, 1632 (see i. 531, 532), but I feel sure that he returned in the ship that brought over Governor Wood's commission for a second term, not later than January, 1633 (i. 534), and the letter which we are considering was certainly written after his return. See pp. 45–50, above.

² Yarmouth, Massachusetts, was not settled until 1639. Captain Wood is speaking in rather general terms, and the English Yarmouth was a natural place for him to think of.

³ The italics are Lefroy's. Here and elsewhere they indicate his conjectural restoration of the torn or obliterated manuscript.

⁴ What follows is here given as Lefroy prints it. He is obviously summarizing.

tended for the Rev. Nathaniel Bernard. But this is a manifest error. The information which Wood gives his correspondent about the Bermudas and about the two ministers, Mr. Stirk and Mr. Copeland, is sufficient proof of Lefroy's mistake. Bernard had resided in the islands as a settled minister from 1622 until 1627.¹ He knew what their products were; he was well aware that tobacco was "the chiefest comoditie" the islanders "had to subsist withall," — for his salary had been payable in that commodity,² — and he was acquainted with Mr. Stirk, who was his colleague as early as 1622,³ and probably also with Mr. Copeland, whose residence dated from 1626.⁴ Obviously we must look about us for another addressee.

Certain well-defined conditions are imposed upon us in our search. The man in question must be a Puritan minister of distinction who had never been in the Bermudas. He must be the author of several well-known works, including one entitled, as Lefroy reads the manuscript, "Towins" or "Towius." He must be an intending emigrant to New England. And finally, we may infer that his name was Ames, since it is clear that the "M^{rs} Ames" to whom the Governor sends a present of potatoes is the wife of the person to whom the letter was despatched.

¹ See Lefroy, i. 317, 342, 347, 359–361, 401–403. The Rev. Nathaniel Bernard was still in the Bermudas on December 12, 1626 (i. 402–403); but he left the islands before the General Assembly of March, 1626–27, for that Assembly voted that the arrears of his salary "shall be allowed and paid either to himselfe if he shall return againe (wh. wee much desire) or to his assignes nominated in his stead and to his vse to receaue the same" (i. 415). The same vote mentions "the 4 ministers now residing in the Somer Islands." Lefroy (i. 415 note 1) thinks these were Patrick Copeland, Nathaniel Bernard, Bellingham Morgan, and Robert Staples. For "Nathaniel Bernard," however, we should substitute "George Stirk." Stirk was in England in September, 1625 (i. 359, 361), but it is clear that he returned with Captain Philip Bell, the new Governor, in 1626; for, in the reply of the inhabitants to the Bermuda Company's letter (i. 397) of September 20, 1626, the colonists thank the Company for "restoring our banished minister" (i. 433). This was Stirk, not (as Lefroy says) Staples. Staples had never been banished; whereas Stirk *had* been, by the tyrannical Governor Henry Woodhouse. The record of his banishment was expunged by the General Assembly of March, 1626–27 (i. 430), and Stirk was present at this Assembly (i. 430, 431). See pp. 29–31, above.

² See Lefroy, i. 415, etc.

³ Lefroy, i. 317; Stirk's letter and petition (Manchester Papers, Nos. 419, 422, Public Record Office). See pp. 17–19, 47–48, above.

⁴ Lefroy, i. 376.

All these conditions are fulfilled by one man, and by only one—the eminent Calvinist theologian Dr. William Ames, who died at Rotterdam in 1633 in his fifty-seventh year. It is needless to rehearse the particulars of Dr. Ames's life. They may be read, in sufficient detail, in the *Præfatio Introductoria* to the five-volume edition of his Latin Works edited by Matthias Nethenus,¹ in Benjamin Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*,² in Mr. John Browne's *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*,³ and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.⁴

That Dr. Ames intended to come to New England is well known. In a letter to Governor Winthrop, written from Franeker, in Friesland, December 29, [1629,] he says, "I longe to bee with yow." His purpose, he adds, is to go to England in the summer [of 1630], and, on being assured of the safe arrival of Winthrop in America, "to take the first convenient occasion of following after yow."⁵ Why Ames did not carry out his plan as thus indicated, we do not know. Clearly, however, there was some interruption in his correspondence with Winthrop. On December 18, 1630, John Humfrey writes to the

¹ *Guilielmi Amesii SS. Theologiæ Doctoris & in Academia Franequerana Professoris Opera Quæ Latinè scripsit, omnia, in quinque volumina distributa. Cum Præfatione introductoria Matthiæ Netheni.* [Tom. I.] Amsterdam, 1658. The Harvard College copy of this volume has on the first flyleaf the autographs of three clerical Simon Bradstreets of three successive generations. The third has written "Avus," "Pater," and "Filius & nepos" after the three signatures respectively. The first Simon adds the date 1670; the third, the date 1742. On the second flyleaf the third Simon has written "Simon Bradstreet March 25. 1742" and "Simon Bradstreet Ejus Liber 1742 a Patre honorando hæreditat —." The first of these three Simons (son of Governor Simon Bradstreet and of Anne Bradstreet, the poetess) graduated at Harvard College in 1660, the second in 1693, the third in 1728 (*Sibley, Harvard Graduates*, ii. 54, 57).

² ii. 405–408 (London, 1813).

³ *History of Congregationalism and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk*, London, 1877, pp. 66–71, 422.

⁴ i. 355–357. This article, by J. Bass Mullinger, is based, for the biographical part, on Nethenus. The author has overlooked Browne's book. There is a short account of "Amesius" in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, i. 447–449. Cf. also A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, i. 254–256 (Haarlem, 1852); John T. Hassam, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxxiii. 196, note (1879). Dr. Hugo Visscher's *Guilielmus Amesius zijn Leven en Werken* (Haarlem, 1894) is partly theological, but treats Ames's life with fulness and gives a number of unprinted documents.

⁵ 4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vi. 576–577.

Governor from London: "Dr. Ames holds his first affection to you & the worke, notwithstanding the late neglect of him, in not giving a word eyther to him or of him. I wrote to him excusing all as well as I could, & the good man takes nothing amisso for ought I understand."¹ And again, December 23, 1630: "Dr. Ames, as great a blessing & blessing bringer (if his remove bee clearly warrantable) as wee could desire, continues his hartie affection to us."² By 1632, one might suppose, Dr. Ames's project of emigration was abandoned, for in that year he became an associate with Hugh Peters in the English Congregational Church at Rotterdam,³ but we shall see presently that he was expected in New England as late as 1633.

Dr. Ames fulfils another of our conditions by having been a prolific writer of works of high Calvinistic theology which were much esteemed in his own day, and, indeed, long afterwards. Here we are confronted with a little puzzle. What is that book which Mr. Stirk admired? "The name," says General Lefroy, "is unintelligible." All he can make of it is *Towins* or *Towius*. The problem is easily solved, even without a sight of Wood's manuscript. The word must be *Coronis*.

The Coronis is one of Dr. Ames's best-known works. A coronis (*κορωνίς*) was a stroke or pen-flourish made by a Greek or Roman scribe at the end of a book or chapter or scene. Dr. Ames called his book *Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensem, qua Argumenta Pastorum Hollandiae adversus Remonstrantium Quinque Articulos de Divina Prædestinatione, & capitibus ei adnexis, producta, ab horum exceptionibus vindicantur*, — that is, in effect, "A Finishing Touch to the Hague Conference, by which the Arguments advanced by the Ministers of Holland against the Five Articles of the Remonstrants concerning the Divine Predestination and concerning the Chapters annexed to it are vindicated from the Objections of the Remonstrants."

The title is a good index to the contents. Several disciples of Arminius,⁴ as is well known, had, in 1610, drawn up a so-called

¹ 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 11.

² vi. 16.

³ John Browne, History of Congregationalism, p. 69 (cf. p. 422). It appears that Ames did not actually get "settled" at Rotterdam until July, 1633 (Peters's letter, in Browne, p. 422). For the original city records relating to his call to this position and that of Instructor in Rhetoric and Practical Ethics, see Hugo Visscher, *Guilielmus Amesius*, pp. 74-76.

⁴ There is a clear account of these transactions, from the Arminian point of view, in Philipp van Limborch's *Historia Vitæ Simonis Episcopii*, Amsterdam,

Remonstrance,¹ addressed to the States of Holland and West Friesland, against the insistence on certain high Calvinistic tenets in the Dutch Reformed Church. The opinions of the Remonstrants were summarized in five articles — the famous Five Points, as the theologians call them. In 1611, by order of the States, there was held the celebrated Hague Conference, which the government hoped might put an end to strife and prevent a schism. Six of the Arminian Remonstrants and six of the orthodox Calvinist divines appeared before the States and argued the Five Points— Election, Redemption, the Cause of Faith, Conversion, and the Perseverance of the Saints. There was no decision. The States dissolved the Conference with an exhortation to the contending parties to tolerate each other's doctrines and to live like brothers in Christian charity.² The advice was well-meant, but fruitless. The struggle went on, until the Calvinists, who outnumbered the Arminians, procured the condemnation of their heresies in the National Synod of Dort, held in 1618 and 1619.³

1701, pp. 31 ff, and in the same author's posthumous *Relatio Historica de Origine & Progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione, et Capitibus Annexis*, attached to the 1715 Amsterdam edition of his *Theologia Christiana*. A Calvinistic account (strongly partisan) may be found in the *Præfatio* to the *Acta Synodi Nationalis . . . Dordrechti habitæ*, Leyden, 1620. On the services of Ames, see the highly laudatory account in the *Praefatio Introductoria* of Nethenus. For an excellent summary history of the Remonstrants, one may consult H. C. Rogge's article "Remonstranten" in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3d edition, xvi. 635–639 (1905).

¹ For the full text of the Remonstrance, see Henrik Brant's Latin version of the official report of the proceedings of the Hague Conference (*Collatio Scripto Habita Hagae Comitis] anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1611. Ex sermone vernaculo Latina facta*, 1615, pp. 1–13) or van Limborch's *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ*, Amsterdam, 1704, pp. 251–256.

² See van Limborch, *Historia Vitæ Simonis Episcopii*, p. 39.

³ A good account of the synod, written from the Arminian point of view, but without passion or declamation, may be found in van Limborch's biography of Episcopius (see page 65 note 4, above). The Acts of the Synod were officially published in 1620 (*Acta Synodi Nationalis . . . Dordrechti habitæ*, Leyden, printed by Isaac Elzevir), and the Remonstrants, then in exile, issued *their* Acts in the same year with the proud motto "Destructo Fato. Adserta Pietate" (*Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum Remonstrantium in Fœderato Belgio*, Herder-wiici, [Harderwijk,] 1620). The Harvard College copy of the Remonstrants' Acts has the autographs of Increase Mather ("Crescentius Matherus his Booke, 1668:") and his grandson Samuel ("S. Matheri. 1734."). Ames replied to this book in his *Anti-Synodalia Scripta, vel Animadversiones in*

Ames's *Coronis*, published in 1618,¹ was meant to put the "finishing touch," as its title indicates, to the arguments of the Calvinist representatives in the Hague Conference and thus to serve as a decisive refutation of Arminianism. It was long regarded as a well-stocked arsenal of orthodoxy. "Ames stood in the van," writes Nethenus. "He encountered the whole camp of the Remonstrants, and bravely withstood and repulsed their attack, publishing his *Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensem*, a work by which he has merited an unfading garland of praise and glory among all who devoutly honor and preach the grace of God."² It is a melancholy reflection that this *immarcescibilis corona* had so far withered by 1877 that General Lefroy could not decipher the word *coronis* in Governor Wood's manuscript, but made it *towins* or *towius*, mistaking a *c* for a *t* and feeling some doubt whether the three strokes and a dot that make up the letters *ni* should be read *in* or *iu*.

Enough has probably been said to convince anybody that Wood's letter was really addressed to Dr. William Ames. But it may be worth while to add that we can also identify the lady who was to receive the gift of Bermuda potatoes. She was Dr. Ames's second wife, Joan (Fletcher³), who, as all students of the early settlement of this country are aware, left Rotterdam, with her three children, at some time undetermined, after the Doctor's death in 1633, and in 1637 sailed from Yarmouth to New England,⁴ where

dogmatica illa, quæ Remonstrantes in Synodo Dordracena exhibuerunt & postea divulgant (I have used the Amsterdam edition of 1661). In his dedication to Henry, Count of Nassau, he adverts to the motto as an "inscriptio magnifica."

¹ The British Museum has a copy of that date, published at Leyden. I have used the Amsterdam edition of 1664 (Harvard College Library).

² "Ingruentibus totis Remonstrantium castris primus in acie occurrit & illorum impetum fortiter exceptit ac retudit, editâ . . . Coronide ad Collationem Hagiensem, quâ immarcessibilem [sic] laudis & gloriæ coronam apud omnes pios Gratiaæ Dei aestimatores & deprædicatores meruit" (Nethenus, sig. (a) 3 v° — (a) 4 r°). Nethenus's Latin is sometimes amusing. He speaks of "Amesius" as defending God's cause "contra Pelagianizantes Remonstrantium phalanges." The Arminians are "inimici divinæ Gratiaæ & cultores Liberi Arbitrii humani."

³ Nethenus, in his *Præfatio Introductoria*, misprints "Sletcher," and this error is followed by the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴ See the record of May 11, 1637, printed by Savage (4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, i. 100) and by Hotten (*Original Lists*, p. 294). Oddly enough Lefroy quotes this record (from Hotten) apropos of the Mrs. Ames mentioned

the fathers of the colony, in the same year, granted "40^l to M^{rs}. Ames, the widow of Doctor Ames, of famos memory, who is deceased."¹ Her son William graduated at Harvard College in 1645.² Finally, we shall not forget that Mr. [Hugh] Peters, whom Governor Wood mentions in connection with our Calvinist champion, was actually his friend and colleague, and came to New England himself in 1635.

When Wood's letter was written is a matter of some uncertainty, for, as we have seen, it bears no date in the manuscript. Lefroy puts it in 1634, but I think he is wrong. It was clearly written at the same time as another letter, somewhat earlier in the manuscript, which Lefroy dates 1633. Both letters mention the arrival of a ship from New England, to trade for provisions, and both remark that this ship has brought word that there is a resort of able ministers from England to New England.³ Beyond question this ship was the Thunder, which sailed from our shores to Bermuda on October 17, 1633, and arrived in Boston on her return, as Winthrop informs us, on June 1, 1634, having touched at Virginia on the voyage back.⁴ Ames died suddenly at Rotterdam in November, 1633, from shock (or perhaps pneumonia) caused by jumping out of bed into the water which had invaded his chamber in an inundation.⁵ "Learned

in Wood's letter (i. 536), though it does not occur to him that it throws any light on the identity of the person to whom the letter was addressed.

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, November 15, 1637 (i. 208).

² Sibley, Harvard Graduates, i. 107-110. See John Browne, History of Congregationalism, pp. 426-428; Waters, Genealogical Gleanings in England, pp. 278-280.

³ Compare with the language of the letter to Ames the following passage from this other letter:

"Here is a shippe come from New England for trade wth vs for victualls who reports that there comes over *to them* the most able ministers in England & their congregations, *when* their [read "*and their*"] they build Townes and call them by the names of those from whence they come As Boston Lymne Plimouth Yarmouth. . . .

"I wish some of those that fly so fast into that could clymate would come more southerly to vs. We pay 2 ministers £40 per ann for each vntill wee are enabled to raise it higher" (i. 535).

Lefroy thinks this letter was addressed to the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, but I see no evidence for such an opinion.

⁴ See p. 51, above.

⁵ Nethenus, *Præfatio Introductoria*; John Quick, *Icones Sacrae Anglicanæ*, MS, in Browne, History of Congregationalism, p. 69 note §.

Amesius," writes Peters in a familiar passage, "breathed his last Breath into my Bosom."¹ Wood's letter may never have reached him, but it at all events proves that the New Englanders, as late as the autumn of 1633, were still expecting him to come over sometime, and that Captain Roger Wood made a gallant attempt to divert him to the older colony in the Bermudas.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Having in preparation a bibliography of New England magazines of the eighteenth century, it occurs to me that tentative lists of such magazines may prove useful. These lists are based on the collections owned by the following libraries and societies: American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenæum, Boston Public Library, Library of Congress, Essex Institute, Harvard College Library, Lenox (New York Public) Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, Massachusetts State Library, New England Historic Genealogical Society, New York Historical Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Library Company of Philadelphia, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Yale University Library. My thanks are due to the officials of these institutions for many courtesies.

Other libraries or societies, however, may have earlier or later numbers of a particular magazine than those indicated in the present lists, or may have a magazine not listed here. Again, questions not easily answered are: Exactly what is a magazine? Wherein does a magazine differ from a newspaper? Is the proper criterion size or contents? In September, 1908, the writer issued a leaflet containing a prefatory note and a chronological list of New England

¹ Last Report of the English Wars, 1646, p. 14. I have not seen this tract, but take the quotation (which has more than once been repeated without a reference) from [William Harris's] Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters, 1751, p. 68.

magazines of the eighteenth century.¹ That list contained, in addition to the magazines given in the present lists, the following three titles:

The New-Haven Gazette, and the Connecticut Magazine, New Haven:
1786, February 16 — 1789, June 18

Courier de Boston, Affiches, Annonces, et Avis, Boston: 1789, Avril 23
— Octobre 15

The New Star, Concord, New Hampshire: 1797, April 11 — October 3

In the prefatory note to the leaflet, I remarked that "the propriety of regarding all the publications in the present list as magazines will probably not be questioned except in four cases, — namely: New-Haven Gazette, and the Connecticut Magazine (1786–1789); Worcester Magazine (1786–1788); Courier de Boston (1789); New Star (1797)." A careful examination of the above three periodical publications convinces me that they should be regarded as newspapers rather than as magazines, and hence they do not appear in the lists given below. The case of the Worcester Magazine is peculiar, but I think it may properly be included in a list of magazines. A full discussion of this matter, however, is reserved for the completed bibliography.

The three following titles, printed in italics, have been found in advertisements or catalogues, but no copies are known:

The American Monitor, or the Republican Magazine, Boston: 1785,
October

The Religious Monitor and Theological Scales, Danbury, Connecticut:
1797 —

The Christian's Monitor; or Theological Magazine, Concord, New Hampshire: 1798, June

¹ One title in the lists now given — *Wisdom in Miniature* (1796) — was not in the leaflet, as its existence was then unknown to me; and since the leaflet was printed, several numbers then unknown of other magazines have come to my notice.

In his Check-List of American Magazines Printed in the Eighteenth Century, printed in 1889, Mr. Paul Leicester Ford listed fifteen New England magazines — namely, those in the above lists numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18. The magazines in the above lists numbered 10, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, are now listed for the first time.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINES, 1743-1800

- 1 The Boston Weekly Magazine, Boston: 1743, March 2, 9, 16
- 2 The Christian History, Boston: 1743, March 5 — 1745, February 23
- 3 The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle, Boston: 1743, September — 1746, December
- 4 The New England Magazine, Boston: 1758, August¹ —
- 5 The Censor, Boston: 1771, November 23 — 1772, May 2
- 6 The Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement, Boston: 1774, January — 1775, March
- 7 The Boston Magazine, Boston: 1783, October — 1786, December
- 8 The Gentleman and Lady's Town and Country Magazine, Boston: 1784, May — December
- 9 The Worcester Magazine, Worcester: 1786, April — 1788, March
- 10 The American Musical Magazine, New Haven: 1786-1787²
- 11 The Massachusetts Magazine: or, Monthly Museum of Knowledge and rational Entertainment, Boston: 1789, January — 1796, December
- 12 The Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine, Boston: 1789, February — 1790, August
- 13 The American Apollo, Boston: 1792, January 6 — September 28³
- 14 The New-Hampshire Magazine: or, the Monthly Repository of Useful Information, Concord: 1793, June — November
- 15 The Monthly Miscellany, or Vermont Magazine, Bennington: 1794, April — September
- 16 The Rural Magazine: or, Vermont Repository, Rutland: 1795, January — 1796, December
- 17 The Tablet, Boston: 1795, May 19 — August 11
- 18 The Nightingale, or, Melange de Litterature, Boston: 1796, May 10 — July 30
- 19 Wisdom in Miniature: or the Young Gentleman and Lady's Magazine, Hartford, Connecticut: 1796, No. 1

¹ Number 1 is entitled The New England Magazine for August 1758. Numbers 2 and 3 are entitled The New England Magazine Of Knowledge and Pleasure, but are not dated.

² Twelve undated numbers were published.

³ Continued as a newspaper.

- 20 The Newhampshire & Vermont Magazine and General Repository, Haverhill, New Hampshire: 1797, July—October
- 21 A Republican Magazine: or, Repository of Political Truths, Fairhaven, Vermont: 1798, October 1—December 15
- 22 The Columbian Phenix and Boston Review, Boston: 1800, January—July
- 23 The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, Hartford: 1800, July—December¹

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINES, 1743-1800

- 13 American Apollo: 1792
- 3 American Magazine: 1743-1746
- 10 American Musical Magazine: 1786-1787
- 7 Boston Magazine: 1783-1786
- 1 Boston Weekly Magazine: 1743
- 5 Censor: 1771-1772
- 2 Christian History: 1743-1745
- 22 Columbian Phenix: 1800
- 23 Connecticut Evangelical Magazine: 1800
- 8 Gentleman and Lady's Town and Country Magazine: 1784
- 12 Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine: 1789-1790
- 11 Massachusetts Magazine: 1789-1796
- 15 Monthly Miscellany: 1794
- 4 New England Magazine: 1758
- 20 Newhampshire & Vermont Magazine: 1797
- 14 New-Hampshire Magazine: 1793
- 18 Nightingale: 1796
- 21 Republican Magazine: 1798
- 6 Royal American Magazine: 1774-1775
- 16 Rural Magazine: 1795-1796
- 17 Tablet: 1795
- 19 Wisdom in Miniature: 1796
- 9 Worcester Magazine: 1786-1788

¹ Continued into the nineteenth century.

LIST OF NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINES BY YEARS, 1743-1800

- 1743 { American Magazine
 { Boston Weekly Magazine
 Christian History
- 1744-1745 { American Magazine
 { Christian History
- 1746 American Magazine
- 1758 New England Magazine
- 1771-1772 Censor
- 1774-1775 Royal American Magazine
- 1783 Boston Magazine
- 1784 { Boston Magazine
 { Gentleman and Lady's Town and Country Magazine
- 1785 Boston Magazine
- 1786 { American Musical Magazine
 { Boston Magazine
 Worcester Magazine
- 1787 { American Musical Magazine
 { Worcester Magazine
- 1788 Worcester Magazine
- 1789-1790 { Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine
 { Massachusetts Magazine
- 1791 Massachusetts Magazine
- 1792 { American Apollo
 { Massachusetts Magazine
- 1793 { Massachusetts Magazine
 { New-Hampshire Magazine
- 1794 { Massachusetts Magazine
 { Monthly Miscellany
- 1795 { Massachusetts Magazine
 { Rural Magazine
 Tablet

	Massachusetts Magazine
1796	{ Nightingale Wisdom in Miniature
1797	Newhampshire & Vermont Magazine
1798	Republican Magazine
1800	{ Columbian Phenix Connecticut Evangelical Magazine

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE described the latest discoveries in the trench now being dug for the Cambridge subway in front of Wadsworth House, and exhibited photographs of the foundation walls of early buildings which had been exposed to view.

Mr. CHARLES S. RACKEMANN communicated a Memoir of JAMES BARR AMES, which had been prepared for publication in the Transactions.

MEMOIR
OF
JAMES BARR AMES, LL.D.
BY
CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN

JAMES BARR AMES was born in Boston on June 22, 1846, and died at Wilton, New Hampshire, on January 8, 1910.

He was educated in the Boston schools and at Harvard College, where he graduated with the degree of A.B. in 1868. Immediately afterwards he began teaching in Boston, and kept this up for two seasons. He then became a tutor at Harvard College in the French and German languages, serving during the academic year 1871-1872; and there, in 1871, he attained his A.M. At the end of the year 1872 he took his law degree at the same place.

Afterwards he was a teacher of history at Harvard for one academic year, and in 1873 he was made an assistant professor of law. At this time President Eliot, in his Annual Report for 1872-1873, referring to the appointment of so young a teacher in the Law School, said:

The gentleman who is to bear the brunt of this new experiment in the constitution of a Law Faculty has some unusual qualifications for the place, for he is not only distinguished as a student, both in College and in the Law School, but he has had more than two years' experience as a teacher in the College; the experiment will therefore be tried under favorable conditions.¹

In those days the appointment of a man to an assistant professorship in a Law School, when he was only five years graduated from

¹ This statement is repeated in Warren's History of the Harvard Law School, ii. 388.

College, was a very pronounced distinction. In 1877 Mr. Ames resigned his assistant professorship; but the Corporation "felt that his services were too valuable to the Law School to be thus lost," and on May 14, 1877, voted "to establish an additional Professorship in the Law School;" and Mr. Ames was appointed the new professor. In 1879 Mr. Ames was appointed Bussey Professor in the School.

In 1895 Mr. Langdell, who had been Dean of the School since September, 1870, resigned on account of his age and state of health, and Mr. Ames was chosen as his successor, and retained this position until the time of his death, filling it with the highest credit to himself, and to the entire satisfaction of the Faculty and the students. It was Dean Langdell who originated and established what is called the "case system" of teaching law. This consists of making the students familiar with the actual decisions of various courts in England and America, and was thus explained by Professor William A. Keener in 1888:

Under this system the student must look upon law as a science consisting of a body of principles to be found in the adjudged cases, the cases being to him what the specimen is to the geologist. . . . This method of teaching does not consist in lectures by the instructor with references to the cases in support of the propositions stated by him. The exercises in the lecture-room consist in a statement and discussion by the students of the cases studied by them in advance. This discussion is under the direction of the instructor, who makes such suggestions and expresses such opinions as are necessary.

The student is required to analyze each case, discriminate between the relevant and irrelevant, between the actual and possible grounds of decision. And after having thus discussed a case, he is prepared and required to deal with it in its relation to other cases.

It is unnecessary at this moment to say anything more of this system of Dean Langdell's than that, in spite of much adverse criticism on various sides, it has stood the test for about forty years, and has convinced so many of the leading teachers of its usefulness and soundness in principle, that it is to-day the prevailing system of teaching law in this country. Professor Edward H. Warren, who is now on the staff of the Law School, in a recent appreciation of Dean Ames, spoke as follows concerning this system:

The introduction of this method was due to Professor Langdell, who preceded Professor Ames as Dean of the School. Dean Ames was the disciple of Langdell. Langdell originated, Ames spread the idea.

He spread it in two ways. Each year scores (and lately hundreds) of young men were leaving the School who had been stimulated and strengthened intellectually by him. They prized the training and they found that it told in actual practice. In the second place, as other law schools wished to adopt the method, he gladly helped to make its introduction easy. Harvard has never made any attempt to guard the case system as a trade secret; it has, on the contrary, with both hands, done its utmost to help other institutions to adopt it. Dean Ames was foremost in this. He put himself at the service of every law teacher in the country who wanted light and leading.

It is not too much to say that to-day, considering the country as a whole, the case system is the dominant method used in teaching law. No one — not excepting Langdell himself — has contributed more to this result than Ames. His influence has been national.

He analyzed the cases with his students by the Socratic method. He questioned much; he answered little. Those who came to hear the law laid down went away to ponder what it ought to be. He loved the battle of wits; but he never argued simply for the sake of victory. He helped men in many ways, but most of all because he made them help themselves.

Mr. Ames was never a practising lawyer. As already shown, from the moment that he had acquired his education, in the ordinary acceptance of that term, he became a teacher; but no man would have more readily admitted than he would himself that he never ceased being a student. He was a most indefatigable worker. Besides writing innumerable articles or short treatises, he produced a collection of cases designed to be used under the system above alluded to, upon the subjects of torts, pleading (at common law), bills and notes, partnership, trusts, suretyships, admiralty and equity jurisdiction.

The method of making a book of cases, to be used under the case system, is for the professor to read such cases as he thinks the students ought to know, and then to make a republication of those cases, grouped according to subjects, with all superfluous matter eliminated, and omitting also the head-note or syllabus, so that the student may either make his own head-note or syllabus after studying the

facts and opinions, or take the same down from the dictation of the professor in the class-room.

When one considers the amount of intellectual labor which goes into the making of a book under such circumstances, it is a matter of absolute wonderment that one man could produce so many works on such a variety of subjects, while carrying on his work in the class-room at the same time.

While Mr. Ames was teaching in the Law School, two very important steps were taken in connection with it, the influences of which are likely to last as long as the School itself. These were, first, the establishment of the Harvard Law School Association, which was organized in the autumn of 1886, while the College was celebrating its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, and of which our late associate, the Hon. James Coolidge Carter, was the first President; and, second, the founding of the Harvard Law Review in the spring of 1887. Of the former, Dean Langdell said: "The gentlemen who conceived and started this enterprise, and who have spared neither time nor labor in carrying it out, are entitled to the lasting gratitude of every one who has the welfare of the School at heart."

Professor Ames was always extremely interested in the Law School Association, and gave much time and careful thought to its purposes. He also believed heartily in the Law Review and was a frequent contributor to it; in fact, most of its volumes contain articles written by him.

When Dean Langdell resigned, the Association held its ninth annual meeting at Cambridge and turned it into a special celebration in his honor. It was at this time that Professor Ames succeeded him. In 1904 the Association had another particular celebration at its eighteenth annual meeting, at which President Taft, then Governor of the Philippine Islands, was the orator of the day. The then President of the Association, Chief-Judge Fuller, also an honorary associate of ours, in presenting the after-dinner speakers, led up to the introduction of Dean Ames as follows:

Sidney Smith said that the difference between Scotch deans and English deans was that "English deans had no faculties." That does n't apply in any sense to my friend on the left, the Dean of the Law School, whose years of teaching and of administration, and whose books have placed the Law School under an indebtedness that all recognize and all most cordially acknowledge.

And Professor Ames, in replying, paid another tribute to the wonderful work of Dean Langdell, saying:

When, in 1895, Professor Langdell, after twenty-five years of distinguished service, resigned the deanship, I thought, having been associated with him from the beginning as a disciple and as a colleague, that I had a realizing sense of his great genius; but I did not appreciate then as I do now, after nine years of experience as his successor, how solidly the new foundations of the Law School were laid during his administration. He is *emeritus*; but the policy which his originality and his far-sighted sagacity inaugurated still dominates the conduct of the School.

Then, after speaking of the necessity for preparing the case books which had been created by the introduction of the Langdellian system, and prophesying that Harvard Law students would write books on many subjects, he closed his remarks with some expressions which most perfectly exhibit his own feeling about the proper functions of the Law School:

We shall not forget, however, in the delights of legal authorship, that our first object is to train young men for the effective practice of their profession. To us the real distinction of the Law School is to be found in the true significance of its degree. It is our purpose that the degree shall represent even more in the future than in the past that its holder is a man of capacity, of sound legal training, and above all a man of generous ambition and high character.

The high moral tone of his nature, and the hopefulness and sanity of his views with reference to the future, are finely illustrated in a paragraph in his article on "Law and Morals," published in the Review in December, 1908:

It is obvious that the spirit of reform which during the last six hundred years has been bringing our system of law more and more into harmony with moral principles has not yet achieved its perfect work. It is worth while to realize the great ethical advance of the English law in the past, if only as an encouragement to effort for future improvement. In this work of the future there is an admirable field for the law professor. The professor has, while the judge and the practicing lawyer have not, the time for systematic and comprehensive study and for becoming familiar with the decisions and legislation of other countries. This systematic study and the knowledge of what is going on in other coun-

tries are indispensable if we would make our system of law the best possible instrument of justice. The training of students must always be the chief object of the law school, but this work should be supplemented by solid contributions of their professors to the improvement of the law.¹

Professor Ames had an extremely attractive personality, an unusual sympathy, and extraordinary patience in listening to the questions of students and in discussing matters with them. His voice was soft and well modulated, his smile was winning, and his manners were so modest as to be almost shy, and yet they were dignified without being in the least constrained.

I venture to say that, in 1879, when I was at the Law School and first made his acquaintance, there was not a student in the School who was not personally known to him, and I know that he was consulted by the students upon questions arising in courses given by other professors than himself.² There seemed to be a general desire amongst the students to get the views of Professor Ames upon all involved or troublesome questions. In those days he never sat down, except in the lecture-room, but preferred to work while standing at a high desk. He said that he thought this was much more comfortable in the long run, and that it was also more healthful. When the Hemenway Gymnasium was opened he became a constant attendant and was to be seen there almost daily in the last hour of the afternoon before dinner.

He was one of the members of the famous Lowell Baseball Club (named for the illustrious family and not for the city), which had a lively career, and the memory of which has been rendered immortal by the book of Mr. James D'Wolf Lovett called *Old Boston Boys and the Games they Played*.³

It is one of the inevitable features of after-life that one becomes almost wholly separated from such a man, and it is a source of keen regret that one cannot longer discuss with him the problems which come up in the daily practice of the profession. It is a strange and

¹ Harvard Law Review, xxii. 113.

² In 1879-1880 the total enrolment of students in the Law School was 177; in 1909-1910 it is 763.

³ This book was published privately by the generosity of the late Samuel Cabot at the Riverside Press in 1907.

not an agreeable fact that one of the dominating influences of a man's life for a short term should thus become absolutely deprived of its daily application, and have its later effect only in retrospect.

Mr. Ames joined this Society in February, 1893, and, although not often seen at its meetings, was interested in the promotion of its work. He was one of the subscribers to the Gould Memorial Fund. In 1902 he paid an affectionate and discriminating tribute to the memory of Professor Thayer, our late associate, and it seems fitting to end this notice of Mr. Ames by quoting some of the well-chosen words in which he expressed his estimation of his colleague. Mr. Ames might not feel that they were applicable to himself, but we surely find them quite appropriate.

No one can measure his great influence upon the thousands of his pupils. While at the School, they had a profound respect for his character and ability, and they realized that they were sitting at the feet of a master of his subjects. In their after life, his precept and example have been, and will continue to be, a constant stimulus to genuine, thorough, and finished work, and a constant safeguard against hasty generalization or dogmatic assertion.¹

Mr. Ames married Sarah, daughter of the late George R. Russell, and granddaughter of Jonathan Russell, of Milton, and lived most of his life in Cambridge. He was in his religious belief a Unitarian.

He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from six universities.

¹ Publications of this Society, vii. 316.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1910

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 February, 1910, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE and Mr. EZRA HENRY BAKER accepting Resident Membership.

A communication was read from the President and Fellows of Harvard College acknowledging their obligation to all the universities and learned societies which took part, by sending delegates or messages of good will, in the ceremonies of the inauguration of Abbott Lawrence Lowell as President of Harvard University.

The TREASURER reported that the salary of the Editor of Publications for the ensuing five years had been provided for by the subscription of several of the members.

The Rev. CHARLES E. PARK read the following paper:

TWO RULING ELDERS OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON:
THOMAS LEVERETT AND THOMAS OLIVER

Our colonial churches were gathered and organized in very strict conformity to the apostolic practice, as hinted at in various New Testament writings, and as interpreted and understood by the best intelligence of our colonial times. There was no officer in the typical colonial church who found not his prototype in the apostolic church, nor was there any function, responsibility, or duty imposed upon these church officers that had not the warrant, as it was honestly be-

lieved, of some apostolic precedent. Conversely, there was no officer in the apostolic church who does not find his lineal descendant and counterpart in the Puritan church of colonial times, endowed so far as might be with the very same functions, duties, obligations, and limitations.

It is necessary to understand that the New Testament, especially the Book of Acts and some of the Pauline Epistles, constituted the infallible text book of colonial church polity. Our fathers in New England did their utmost in all honest and painstaking diligence to reproduce here in Massachusetts the Christian church of apostolic times. If it occurs to us that they were at times fantastically literal in their understanding of New Testament words or hints or phrases, and that this literalness of their interpretation led them into practices that appear to us absurd or self-contradictory, we must remember that the New Testament was to them a wonderful book, a book to be taken with the utmost seriousness, and handled with the utmost reverence. Modern methods of New Testament interpretation, which take account of local conditions, of chronological relationships, of personal peculiarities, of oriental imagery and the love of figurative language, and which, taking all these factors into account, produce a free, vigorous, idiomatic translation of the New Testament, had no place whatever in their exegesis. To them the Holy Bible was literally true, every word, every jot and tittle. And the only way they could translate it was to translate it literally.

The Holy Bible, being the final word of God, was to them exempt from all the categories of time; it was above all the modifying arguments that play so large a part in modern exegetical science. To them it represented no chronological interdependencies whatever. It was absolute word of God. It was synchronous with his eternity. If they chose to verify a text from the Book of Acts by quoting another text from the Book of Genesis, they knew no reason why they should not do so. Or if they wished to substantiate an inference drawn from Paul's Epistle to Timothy by a text taken from Isaiah's prophecies, they never hesitated to do so. If we ask, Where did our forefathers find authority and justification for the church polity and usage which they inaugurated in their Puritan commonwealth? the answer is, they found that authority and justification from a wonderfully minute, searching, laborious, literal understanding of the Bible. And the

wonder is, not that their understanding of the Bible occasionally led them into sundry very minor, very unimportant absurdities of doctrine, but that with such a literal understanding of the Bible, so lacking in all perspective, they managed to reproduce here in New England a church polity and practice that were so remarkably true in all essentials to that which prevailed in apostolic times. To be sure, they appear to have attached a rather fantastic importance to some features which are to-day obsolete, and which we would consider of very slight importance. But they did not make the corresponding mistake: they did not fail to attach adequate importance to those features which *are* essential, and which *do* stand the test of time. We must understand this, then, if we would hope to understand their attitude towards matters churchly: the Holy Bible, and especially the New Testament, minutely and literally interpreted, was their sole basis and authority for church government and organization.

To their way of thinking a church consisted of a body of Christian believers bound to each other and to God by the terms of a covenant. The covenant was thus the constituting factor in their idea of a church. The covenant served the church much as a hoop serves a barrel. It was as impossible to have a church without a covenant, as it is impossible to have a barrel without a hoop. That cluster of Christian believers, covenanted together and to God, was the unit, the entity, known as a church. As such, it became immediately possessed of certain rights, prerogatives, and functions that were peculiar to it. Just as your barrel with its hoops (I use this analogy in all genuine reverence), just as your barrel with its hoops can then hold its wine, so a cluster of Christians covenanted together into a church could then, as a church, become the trustee or the repository of a certain wine of life — certain spiritual rights and privileges — which were essential to the welfare of the individual soul, but which the individual soul as an individual could no more possess and enjoy than a detached and unhooped barrel stave could hold wine.

What were these indispensable spiritual rights and privileges which could not exist outside of a covenanted church? They were the sacraments — the seals, so-called. They were principally the privilege of baptism, and the privilege of participation in the Lord's Supper. Those two sacraments were entrusted to the keeping and the administration of the church, as such. And they were essential to the wel-

fare of the individual soul, and they might be enjoyed only by the regularly covenanted members of the church. Thus we see why it is that our fathers attached such importance to church membership. The detached Christian was excluded by his detachment from the two sacraments or privileges most essential to his spiritual welfare. Thus we see also the great importance which was attached to the officers of the church. This property, what we have called the wine of life, which was vested in a church as soon as it became a church, was the most precious thing in the world. It was a portion of God's free grace entrusted to that particular church. It must be protected and guarded, and shielded from all waste, all misuse, all misapplication. To this end, the church found it advisable to appoint certain officers. The New Testament taught them just what officers, and just what names they must bear, and just what their several functions were to be.

These officers were the guardians, in behalf of the church, of the grace of God vested in that church. They were the protectors of the sacraments, the keepers of the seals. Their functions were various, but in general they were intended to administer the sacraments to those who had a right to partake thereof, and to protect the sacraments from waste by being applied to persons outside the church, or even to persons inside the church who by some moral or spiritual irregularity had rendered themselves unfit to receive the sacraments. Their functions were therefore in part administrative, and in part disciplinary.

As to the size of a church, John Cotton tells us that it might be of any size, though not less than seven, and not more than could conveniently listen and partake of the sacraments in one place and at one time. The minimum was set at seven probably because every church ought to have at least seven officers. A church that was too small to furnish individuals enough for its full complement of officers could hardly be a church.

What then were these officers? First there was the Pastor, whose duty it was to exhort the members to that moral rectitude and spiritual humility and receptivity which should render them fit to receive the sacrament. Then there was the Teacher, whose duty it was to expound unto them the mysteries of God's Word, and elucidate those mysteries to their thorough understanding that they might not be-

come the victims of error and cunning sleights of doctrine which would incapacitate them for partaking of the sacraments. These two, Pastor and Teacher, were called Teaching Elders, and were held in absolutely equal esteem and honor. One was as important in all respects as the other. It was just that one was by nature better fitted to appeal to their will, their emotions, their hearts, while the other was by nature the better fitted to appeal to their judgment, their intellect, their reason. It was the Teaching Elders who "administered the seals," to use the phrase: that is to say, simply, who performed the ceremony of baptism and conducted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

With these two Teaching Elders there were two Ruling Elders so-called. The Ruling Elders were chosen from the laity of the church, and were selected, it would seem, with reference not only to their education and intelligence, but with if anything more reference to their personal forcefulness, and weight, and social importance. They were solid, influential men, whom everybody trusted, whom everybody respected and some persons feared. The Ruling Elders were ordained to their office precisely as the Teaching Elders were — and in fact it would appear that the Ruling Elders were held in an esteem not much below that which was accorded to their clerical colleagues. John Cotton defines the duties and the functions of the Ruling Elders quite explicitly: "Such acts of the Spiritual Rule (or Spiritual control) as are dispensed in the preaching of the word and the administering of the sacraments, the Ruling Elders are not called upon to attend to, for that work is left unto the Pastors and Teachers. But whatsoever acts of spiritual Rule and Government Christ hath committed to his church over and above the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, all such acts of Rule are committed to the Ruling Elders — and none but such."

Thus: (1) It is their duty to open and shut the doors of Christ's house or church: that is, to admit and receive all members and officers into place in the church, and to keep out the unworthy. This does not mean they were literally door-tenders or ushers to the congregation. It means that they had the supervision of examining applicants for membership in the church, and that they performed the simple but very beautiful rite of formal admission of a candidate into membership. Thus we read in the Records of the First Church — in the list of admissions —

27 November, 1647, by Elder Leverett —

Mr. Thomas Clark, upon letters of dismission from the Church at Dorchester, having declared his spiritual condition at the Elders' meeting.

All of which means that Mr. Thomas Clark had appeared privately before the Elders seeking admission into the church, that he had handed them his formal letter of dismission from the Dorchester church, that he had declared to them his belief and had satisfied them as to his spiritual fitness to become a member, and that upon the following Sabbath he had been formally taken into covenant membership with the church by the *Ruling* Elder Thomas Leverett. The Elders' meeting at which Mr. Clark declared his spiritual condition was probably a meeting of all four Elders — both Teaching and Ruling Elders. The beautiful little ceremony of formal admission into membership was usually performed by a Ruling Elder — although there are recorded entries of its having been performed by a Teaching Elder.

(2) It is the duty of the Ruling Elders to cast out of the church by excommunication such as fall into scandalous offences within the church and do persist therein. Thus again we read in the records of the First Church:

4 October 1646.

Our brother William Franklin, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and with the consent of the Church, by lifting up their hands, was, by Elder Oliver, in open assembly, cast out of the Church for extortion, deceit, and lying, in and about ironwork which he made for one Mr. Jacob, a Dutchman.

(3) It is the duty of the Ruling Elders to see that none live inordinately, without a calling, or idly in a calling, but that every one be employed in a work to his Lord's advantage.

(4) It is the duty of the Ruling Elder to suffer none to walk scandalously in the congregation.

(5) It is the Ruling Elder's office to supervise all matters before they are brought to the notice of the congregation, and to allow nothing to come before the congregation except such matters as cannot be justly and fairly settled informally. The congregation is thus a sort of court of last appeals, which looks to its Ruling Elders to decide most things out of court.

(6) It is the duty of the Ruling Elders to admonish those who are threatening to fall away from a fitting decency and sobriety of life and conduct.

(7) It is a part of their office to visit the sick, pray with them, and help forward their spiritual estate. This function is not peculiarly theirs, but belongs also to the Teaching Elders.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the Ruling Elders were officers of great importance in a church. The task of church discipline was entirely in their hands, just as it is in the hands of the Elders of any Presbyterian church to this day. It was theirs to examine candidates, to admit into membership, to watch and admonish those who gave signs of falling from grace, to excommunicate the unfit, to attend to all details of church business, in short to be general overseers and disciplinarians of the church, to the end that the church's purity and fitness as a church might not be impaired. It imposes no very great burden on the imagination to understand that Ruling Elders must be men whom all might reverence and respect; men who, by the purity of their own lives, and the undeniable weight and importance of their own social and intellectual position, would be recognized and accepted for these exceedingly delicate functions, by a stiff-necked and a cantankerous generation. To say that a man was a Ruling Elder in a colonial church is to establish that man's moral and social position, and to define his prominence in the community, beyond all doubt or cavil.

In addition to the two Teaching Elders, and the two Ruling Elders, the colonial church had Deacons, whose task it was to serve at the Lord's table, and to receive the offerings of the church, and distribute the alms to the poor. In this latter task, they had the assistance of one or more *Widows*, who were women chosen to assist in these ministrations, especially in such cases as were not so fit for men to put their hands unto. Evidently there was great difficulty in filling this office, and the probabilities are that the office usually went by default. Cotton very pertinently says "we find it somewhat rare to find a woman of so great an age as the apostle describeth, to wit of threescore years, and withal to be so hearty and healthy and strong as to be fit to undertake such a service." However, the Deacons and Widows were decidedly minor officers in the colonial church, and need not detain us further. We are especially interested in the Ruling Elders.

The First Church in Boston was organized on July 30, 1630, by John Winthrop and three others, who drew up and signed the covenant. Two days later five more names were added to the covenant. By virtue of the power which accrued to that church as soon as it became a church, four officers were then chosen and ordained — a Teaching Elder, Mr. John Wilson, who was ordained as Teacher; a Ruling Elder, Mr. Increase Nowell; and two Deacons, William Gager and William Aspinwall. In 1632, after the bulk of the settlers had moved from the Charlestown to the Shawmut side of the river and after the church found it expedient to move also, Mr. Nowell, the Ruling Elder, and a few others who decided to remain upon the Charlestown side of the river, were dismissed from the First Church and promptly covenanted themselves into the Charlestown church. These dismissions were granted October 14, 1632. On November 22, 1632, a fast was held by the Boston congregation and Mr. John Wilson was transferred from the office of Teacher to that of Pastor, and Mr. Thomas Oliver was ordained Ruling Elder.

The process was an interesting one. Before the ceremony the church had in office its Teacher, Mr. Wilson, no Ruling Elder, and two Deacons. Gager had died two years before — but no one seems to know who took his place as Deacon. Evidently the first step was to ordain a Ruling Elder. Accordingly the Teacher and the two Deacons, in the name of the congregation, imposed their hands upon Thomas Oliver and ordained him to the office of Ruling Elder. The church then had a Teacher, Wilson, a Ruling Elder, Oliver, and the two Deacons. It was now possible for the Ruling Elder and the two Deacons, without loss or waste of prestige and regularity, to impose their hands upon the Teacher, Wilson, and ordain him into a Pastor. At the conclusion of the operation the church had a Pastor, Wilson, a Ruling Elder, Oliver, and the two Deacons. It is interesting as denoting the care they took that there should be no break in the chain of apostolic succession, and no loss of apostolic virtue. It would seem to indicate that in spite of their newly assumed congregational polity, there still lingered in their minds an instinctive regard for the old notion of apostolic succession to which they had been accustomed in the Church of England.

The church still lacked a Teacher, and another Ruling Elder, in order to fill out its proper complement of officers. This lack was re-

paired about a year later when on October 10, or 17, or 22, according to the authority one follows, 1633, another fast was kept and Thomas Leverett was ordained a Ruling Elder, Giles Firmin was chosen a Deacon — whether a third one, or to replace one of those who may have died, or whether Winthrop is wrong, and there had been but one deacon ever since Gager's death in 1630, I cannot say. And then the Pastor and the two Ruling Elders together ordained the Rev. John Cotton to the office of Teacher. Now for the first time, in October, 1633, we find the church with its full complement of officers. Wilson was Pastor, Cotton was Teacher, Oliver and Leverett were Ruling Elders, and Firmin and Aspinwall were Deacons.

We get a hint of the universal esteem in which the Ruling Elders of the church were held in the fact that the next year, 1634, the town of Boston seems to have inaugurated the plan of committing all town affairs into the hands of a board or commission of nine or ten men, and the Governor and the two Ruling Elders were named upon this board *ex officio*. This board was reappointed every six months, and was known at first as the townsmen, or the nine men, or the ten men, and in the year 1647, if I am not mistaken, was called for the first time the Selectmen. However that may be, the Governor and the two Ruling Elders appear to have been, *ex officio*, members of that board, being steadily re-elected from 1634 to the end of 1639. It would be immensely interesting to know why they were dropped from the board at that time. Perhaps they were too elderly. This objection would apply rather to Oliver than to Leverett. Perhaps by the year 1639 the office of selectman had grown into such importance as to partake almost of the nature of a civil magistracy, and the Boston church had decided, way back in 1632, that one person could not be both civil magistrate and Ruling Elder at the same time. At all events the Ruling Elders ceased to serve as selectmen after 1639.

There are, however, other hints of the honor in which they were held. In 1635 they were allotted large portions of farming land, and again in 1637. On November 30, 1635, they were asked to serve with Sir Henry Vane as a sort of crude board of conciliation; thus "none of the members of the congregation or inhabitants among us shall sue each other at the lawe before that Mr Henry Vane and the two Elders Mr. Thomas Ollyver and Thomas Leveritt have had the

hearing and desyding of the cause if they cann."¹ It would be extremely interesting to know more of the conditions, the local jealousies and bickerings, which rendered such a board of conciliation desirable, and also why it is that we have no further mention of the board. It was never reappointed, and, so far as the humble student of local antiquities can discover, it never amounted to anything any way. True, the attempt was repeated in the case of the church proper. Under date of February 22, 1649-50, we have the following item in the church records:

It was agreed upon by the church then met together that none of the members either of our own church, or recommended or dismissed to the church from any other, should go to law one with another without the consent of our brethren Major Gibbon, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Stoddar, James Penn and Thomas Marshall, but they shall answer for it unto the church as an offense against it.

Such hints as these lead us to harbor grave misgivings as to the neighborly peacefulness and amity of our infant town. At all events, Vane and the Ruling Elders were a board of conciliation in 1635, and doubtless did their best to compromise local quarrels, and placate local feuds and jealousies.

The Ruling Elders were also appointed as members of a special commission, in 1636, to consider affairs at Mount Wollaston, and how to organize a town and a church there. And again, in 1641, the General Court passed a vote requiring the Ruling Elders to draw up a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion.

These few unsatisfactory references are all the hints we have as to the part these two notable Ruling Elders played in the formation of our town — and yet they are enough to suggest that the two worthy men were among the few weightier spirits of the time, hopeful of the colony's future, responsible, exceedingly faithful in the discharge of such duties as were committed to their care, wise above the ordinary, thoroughly respected and trusted by their fellow-citizens, and looked upon as among the mainstays and leading men of their generation.

It remains for us very briefly to examine the men themselves in their personal histories and estates. Sad to say, the data are pitifully scant.

¹ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 5.

THOMAS OLIVER

The theory which identifies Elder Thomas Oliver with the Thomas Oliver who was born in Bristol in 1582 is, I think, untenable. He was born probably in 1568. Just where, we cannot say. His English home was apparently Lewes, in Sussex. In the Rolls Office in London, is a large vellum-bound book containing the names of a few of those who migrated to New England. The label of the book is as follows: "A Booke of Entrie for Passengers by y^e Commission, & Souldiers, according to the Statute, passing beyond the seas." In the book under date of March 7, 1631, is the following entry: "The names of such Men as are to be transported to New-England to be resident there upon a planta^con have tendred & taken the oath of allegiance according to the Statute" — and then among the names "Thomas Olliver" and "John Olliver."¹ All of which means simply that Thomas Oliver and his young son John applied for the necessary license to migrate in March, 1631, and took the oath of allegiance in order to procure the license.

It seems that the family waited another year before actually sailing. They arrived in Boston on June 5, 1632, in the ship "Mary & Francis," or "William and Francis." There were in the family the father Thomas Oliver, already an old man, the wife Anne, and eight children. They took up their abode at what is now the northerly corner of Washington Street and Water Street. As we have seen, in November of 1632 Oliver was ordained a Ruling Elder in the church. His occupation was that of chirurgeon, and while he was not the only chirurgeon in the colony, he appears to have been the first one and the most prominent, unless one excepts the case of the Plymouth *physician*, who visited the Massachusetts Bay a year or two before Oliver's arrival.

Winthrop has a touching little reference to Oliver in his Journal under date of January 9, 1633:

Mr. Oliver, a right godly man, and elder of the Church of Boston, having three or four of his sons, all very young, cutting down wood upon the neck, one of them [Nathaniel] being about 15 years old, had his brains beaten out with the fall of a tree which he had felled. The good old father, (having the news of it in as fearful a manner as might be, by

¹ Hotten's Original Lists, p. 149.

another boy, his brother) called his wife, being also a very godly woman, and went to prayer, and bare it with much patience and honor.

Early in 1634, Elder Oliver began his six years' service upon the board of selectmen. Early in 1635 his wife Anne died. He shortly married his second wife, Anne, the widow of Oliver Purchase, who survived him by four years.

When the Antinomian heresy appeared in the church, the old Elder was one of the few who had the courage of his convictions. About twenty prominent citizens signed a petition protesting against the banishment of the Rev. John Wheelwright by the General Court. Elder Oliver's name was among the signers of this petition. In this protest he truly represented the church, whose sympathies were very generally with Wheelwright, and who could not be got to excommunicate him, but merely granted him an honorable dismission from the church to found a church in Exeter. The town authorities, however, seemed to be quite apprehensive on account of this petition, and ordered that all the signers thereof should be disarmed. Accordingly in November, 1637, Elder Oliver and the rest of the remonstrants peacefully suffered the indignity of being disarmed for having openly avowed their sympathy with Wheelwright.

In July, 1644, we have an entry in the court records authorizing the constables to pay Elder Oliver £9 for seven months' attendance, of a professional nature, upon Richard Berry, a hired servant of Thomas Hawkins. This would almost seem as though the chirurgeon were a town officer whose services were available by all at the expense of the town. One might almost fancy that we have here the beginnings of a free city hospital.

We should like very much to know the meaning of a town vote that was passed May 18, 1646 as follows: "It is ordered that ther shalbe no dry cattell, yong Cattell, or horse [but only 70 milch kine] shalbe free to goe on the Common this year: but on horse for Elder Oliver." Why this exception in favor of Elder Oliver's horse? Was it that Elder Oliver, being a chirurgeon, might have his horse readily at hand when he was summoned to some distant case of illness?

In general, Elder Oliver appears to have been a much beloved and highly respected member of his community. He was the older, but the less energetic and prominent of the two Elders. Among his

descendants we find many notable names. He was a staunch Royalist, if we may judge him by the political leanings of his descendants. At all events, he was the ancestor of a line of staunch Tories, who during the Revolution suffered persecution because of their political views. He died January 1, 1657-58. In Hull's diary there is this entry regarding him.

The first of the eleventh month, Mr. Thomas Oliver, one of the ruling elders of this church, died, being 90 years old, — a man by his outward profession a chirurgeon. He kept his house, or went very little abroad, for the space of three years before he died, and was a lively pattern of old age spoken of in Eccles. xii; though in his former years a man very serviceable (p. 182).

THOMAS LEVERETT

We know just nothing about the early fortunes of the family who gave to New England "the best elder of her church, the most popular governor of her Colony, and the most useful president of her College." There was a Norman, De Levery, who came over with William the Conqueror. Whether or not he was the original ancestor of the family is a question.

Thomas Leverett was *probably* born about 1585, and *probably* in Old Boston. He was married in 1610 in St. Botolph's Church, Old Boston. He had a large family, sixteen children, thirteen of whom died in Old Boston. He was doubtless a man of good education. We have no indication that he had a college training. It is quite likely that he was educated for the bar. He was an alderman of the borough of Old Boston, and on one occasion, at least, in 1620, was employed by the town to journey to London and conduct some law business for the town. When John Cotton was convicted for nonconformity by the Bishop of Lincoln, he appealed to a higher court, and employed Thomas Leverett, then a member of his parish, as his attorney. Leverett had the satisfaction of restoring the worthy divine to his pulpit.

The noble ship Griffin, of 300 tons burden, dropped anchor in Boston, New England, on September 4, 1633, after an eight weeks' passage. She brought a company of two hundred passengers, some of whom were very distinguished. There were the reverend gentlemen, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone, and there were two of the aldermen of Old Boston — Mr. Atherton Haugh

(mayor), and Mr. Thomas Leverett. Leverett's immediate company consisted of himself, his wife Anne, and three children — Jane, John, and Anne. The son John was destined to be Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in later years.

Leverett joined the church early in October, 1633. On the 10th of the same month he was ordained as Ruling Elder — on the same day, as we have seen, which witnessed the ordination of his old friend and spiritual guide, John Cotton, to the office of Teacher. He was a man of tried and known ability in civil and religious matters, and possessed a singular gift for discipline, which was a most happy equipment for his function as Ruling Elder of the church. The church records from 1634 to 1649-50 are in his handwriting, and whenever the first personal pronoun is used during that time in the records it refers undoubtedly to Leverett. In the list of admissions we read "The 4th day of October, 1645, *by myself*" — and then there follow eight names of men and women admitted. From the fact that we find the *town* records for five or six years in the same handwriting, it seems probable that Leverett served not only on the selectmen with Oliver his colleague, but that he was the scribe or clerk of the board.

Leverett's house occupied the land just east of the meeting-house: what is now the easterly corner of State and Congress Streets. Our present Congress Street runs right over his garden. In fact Congress Street is merely the descendant of a little footpath or lane that was cut through Leverett's land, and that originally bore the name of Leverett's Lane.

He died April 3, 1650, probably about sixty-five years of age. That is about all we know of the ancestor of one of our most illustrious New England families.

Both Oliver and Leverett were counted rich men — both were of the solid, respected, influential caste that forms the nucleus of every durable community and the backbone of every strong church. Both were typical Ruling Elders of the old colonial churches.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, Mr. HENRY E. WOODS stated that Atherton Haugh had been mayor of Boston, England, and subsequently an alderman, in which capacity he opposed the levy of ship-money and in consequence was obliged to flee to New England; and Mr.

GEORGE L. KITTREDGE mentioned a certificate (dated 1650) recorded in the Aspinwall Notarial Records¹ in which George Stirk, of the Harvard Class of 1646, is associated with Thomas Oliver.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following remarks :

Four years ago it was shown that Washington's birthday was celebrated in Boston in 1785 and at Milton in 1782. "It is possible," I then said, "that this is a belated date, for I have made no attempt to make a special investigation."² This proved to be the case, for at a subsequent meeting³ Dr. Franklin B. Dexter called attention to what President Stiles wrote on March 3, 1779: "Gen. Washington's Birthday celebrated 11th ult. at Milton."⁴ Having recently had occasion to examine the newspapers published in Boston during the Revolutionary War, I found several accounts of the celebrations at Milton previous to 1782. As there is a popular impression abroad to the effect that Washington's birthday was first celebrated at New York in 1783,⁵ it will perhaps be worth while to set forth the known facts and to give in full the two earliest accounts of the celebrations at Milton. The New York Gazetteer of February 11, 1784, contained a long communication signed "Civis," in which the writer said:

He is now retired from public service with, I trust, the approbation of God, his country, and his own heart. But shall we forget him? No: rather let our hearts cease to beat, than an ungratefulness should sully the part any of us have taken in the redemption of our country. On this day, the hero enters into the fifty-third year of his age: shall such a day pass unnoticed? No: let a temperate, manly joy express the sense we have of the blessings that arose upon America, on the day which gave birth to Washington. . . .

To contribute to the hilarity of a day which, I hope, will be annually observed, I herewith send you a song, made in this city for the entertain-

¹ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxii. 304.

² Publications, x. 253. ³ xi. 195. ⁴ Literary Diary, ii. 324.

⁵ An editorial in the Boston Journal of February 22, 1910, stated that Washington's birthday was celebrated at New York on February 22, 1783. As New York was then in possession of the British and was not evacuated by them until November 25th following, it may well be doubted whether such a celebration took place.

ment of a select Club of Whigs, who had assembled (and mean again to assemble this evening) according to their annual custom, to celebrate the birth day of General Washington, February the eleventh, 1784.

Then follows a poem in six stanzas. An account of the New York celebration was printed in the Pennsylvania Packet of February 17, 1784; and the same paper of February 24, 1784, contained an account of a similar celebration on February 11 at Richmond, Virginia.¹ The latter, however, was not the earliest celebration in the Old Dominion; for in a letter vaguely dated "Virginia, February 11, 1782," Edmund Pendleton said that "We are just going to celebrate this anniversary of the General's birth."²

The account of the celebration at Milton in 1779 is as follows:

Thursday the 11th instant, the glorious anniversary birthday of his Excellency General WASHINGTON, was celebrated at Milton, by a large number of gentlemen, with an elegant festival. After dinner the following Toasts were drank:

1. The glorious and auspicious 11th of February, 1732.*
2. May this anniversary be celebrated to the honor of our illustrious Chief, till time shall be no more.
3. May the wisdom and integrity of Congress frustrate all the arts and stratagems devised to darken and divide their counsels.
4. Perpetual union and freedom to the American States.
5. His Most Christian Majesty.³
6. American Ministers at foreign Courts.
7. The honorable Sieur Gerard.⁴
8. The American Army and Navy.
9. The Army and Navy of our great Ally.
10. May the names of Warren, Montgomery, and all the heroes who have fell in our glorious cause, be immortalized in the annals of America.
11. May the United American States ever prove a happy asylum to the oppressed of all nations.
12. May the genial rays of true religion and science dispell the mist of ignorance and error from all quarters of the globe.

¹ These three extracts were communicated by the late William Kelby to the Historical Magazine for February, 1869, Second Series, v. 134-135.

² 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xix. 147.

³ The treaty between France and the United States had recently been concluded.

⁴ Conrad Alexandre Gérard, the French Minister.

13. Speedy liberation to all friends in captivity.

* General Washington was born in Virginia, in the county of Westmoreland, the 11th February, 1732.¹

The account of the celebration in 1780 is as follows:

Mr. GILL,

Milton, Feb. 14, 1780.

FRIDAY last a large number of Gentlemen met at Mr. Robinson's,² by Milton Bridge, to celebrate the anniversary Birth Day of his Excellency General Washington — Every breast was filled with pious joy to Heaven for preserving the invaluable Life of our illustrious General. — After an elegant Dinner, the following Toasts were given out:

1. The illustrious Hero of the day.
2. Wisdom and Integrity to the Congress.
3. The American Army and Navy.
4. The combined Fleets of France and Spain.

¹ Continental Journal, Boston, February 18, 1779, p. 3/2.

² In 1782 "a large company of Gentlemen met at Mr. Robinson's Tavern on Milton Hill." In 1906 (Publications, x. 253) I was unable to identify "Mr. Robinson" or his tavern, but I can now do so. On August 14, 1769, was "celebrated the anniversary of the 14th of August 1765, the day of the Union and firmly combined association of the TRUE SONS OF LIBERTY in this Province" (Boston Gazette, August 21, 1769, p. 1/1). The Sons assembled at eleven o'clock in the morning at Liberty Tree, Boston, where certain toasts were given out; after which "the Sons repaired to Liberty-Tree-Tavern, Mr. Robinson's, Dorchester" (*ibid.*). Under date of August 14, 1769, John Rowe wrote that "the Sons of Liberty met at Liberty Tree, and dined at Robinson's at Dorchester" (2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 72). On the same day Col. Samuel Pierce made this entry in his Diary: "Was a very grand entertainment at Mr. Lemuel Robinson's. All the Sons of Liberty met" (in Orcutt, Good Old Dorchester, p. 159). Col. Lemuel Robinson was born March 4, 1736. On July 23, 1775, he had a son born who was christened July 30. "Last Sabbath a Child of Col. Robinson of Dorchester, was baptized, by the Rev. Mr. Dunbar of Stoughton, by the Name of GEORGE WASHINGTON" (New England Chronicle, August 3, 1775, p. 3/2). Col. Robinson died July 29, 1776. "Last Monday departed this Life, (at Boston, of the Small Pox), greatly lamented, Colonel Lemuel Robinson, of Dorchester" (Boston Gazette, August 5, 1776, p. 3/2). On July 30, 1776, Ezekiel Price wrote in his Diary: "Colonel Lemuel Robinson, who died of the small-pox, buried this evening" (1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 261). See also Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 768; E. D. Harris, William and Anne Robinson of Dorchester, Mass., pp. 16, 17; New England Historic and Genealogical Register, xxvii. 85, xxxix. 82-83, xl ix. 341.

5. Poverty to Extortioners, and Bread to the Poor.
6. Condign punishment to all Peculators.
7. The advocates for civil and religious Liberty.
8. May America flourish, 'till time shall be no more.
9. Agriculture and Navigation.
10. Our Friends in captivity.
11. Our Friends at Foreign Courts.
12. May the dictates of Reason and Conscience govern mankind.
13. Peace and good Government to all Nations. Huzza! ¹

In a paper read before this Society six years ago on Some Sobriquets applied to Washington, the terms American Fabius, Virginian Cincinnatus, and Father of his Country, and the expression First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, were considered.² It was then stated that the sobriquet Father of his Country was, so far as I was aware, first applied to Washington in a letter written by General Henry Knox on March 19, 1787. I have since encountered what is perhaps an adumbration of the familiar expression. In the New Jersey Gazette of April 1, 1778, was printed a communication dated Princeton, March 7, 1778, and signed "A Citizen." This consists chiefly of a panegyric on Washington. Beginning in prose, the author — perhaps President John Witherspoon — ends in verse, of which a few lines are quoted:

Go on illustrious Chief! to lead thy chosen bands,
With increas'd numbers, to the field of Mars;
There, snatching victry from the British foe,
Give peace and plenty to a bleeding land.
Then — heaven approving thy exalted deeds,
While grateful millions hail thee father, friend —
Return with laurels to thy happy mount,
And taste a-new the sweets of private life.³

¹ Continental Journal, February 17, 1780, p. 2/3. John Gill was the publisher of the paper.

² Publications, viii. 275-287.

³ New Jersey Archives, Second Series, ii. 143. In a former communication I stated that in 1768 the members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives spoke of George III as "our best Protector and common Father" (Publications, viii. 281). It may not be uninteresting to point out that when William Franklin was made Governor of New Jersey he was presented on March 3, 1763, with "The humble Address of the President and Tutors of the College of New-Jersey," signed by President Samuel Finley, in which Franklin is spoken of as

To-day I wish to call attention to another famous sobriquet — one not previously known, so far as I am aware, to have been associated with Washington, and which as applied to others has somewhat fallen into disrepute. The term “favorite son” apparently escaped the attention of all writers on the subject of Americanisms until 1885, when Charles L. Norton wrote:

FAVORITE SON.— This term became so common, used in reference to local or State politicians that the *Nation* at last made it the text for an editorial article so severely satirical that “favorite sons” have not been so numerous since its publication.¹

And even now the only example of the sobriquet known to lexicographers is from a well-known work by the present distinguished British Ambassador at Washington. In 1888 Mr. Bryce wrote this discriminating passage:

A Favourite Son is a politician respected or admired in his own State, but little regarded beyond it. He may not be, like the Dark Horse, little known to the nation at large, but he has not fixed its eye or filled its ear. He is usually a man who has sat in the State legislature; filled with credit the post of State governor; perhaps gone as senator or representative to Washington, and there approved himself an active promoter of local interests. Probably he possesses the qualities which gain local popularity — geniality, activity, sympathy with the dominant sentiments and habits of his State; or while endowed with gifts excellent in their way, he has lacked the audacity and tenacity which push a man to the front through a jostling crowd. More rarely he is a demagogue who has raised himself by flattering the masses of his State on some local questions, or a skilful handler of party organizations who has made local bosses and spoilsmen believe that their interests are safe in his hands. Anyhow, his personality is such as to be more effective with neighbours than with the nation, as a lamp whose glow fills the side chapel of a cathedral sinks to a spark of light when carried into the nave.²

“being entrusted with so honourable and important a Commission, by the Father of his Country, the Royal Patron of Religion, Virtue, Learning, and whatever is good” (New Jersey Archives, xxiv. 150).

¹ Magazine of American History, xiii. 200. When he published his Political Americanisms in book form in 1890, Norton stated that the editorial in the *Nation* appeared about 1866, and added that the term “occurs in the *Nation* as early as July, 1868” (p. 42). See the *Nation*, vii. 21.

² American Commonwealth, London, i. 552.

For the honor of American lexicography, if for no other reason, it is fitting that this neglect on its part should be repaired by giving an outline of the history of the sobriquet. On December 17, 1825, John Randolph of Roanoke was elected to the United States Senate, one of the four candidates being Judge Henry St. George Tucker, Randolph's half-brother. On being informed of this election, through a letter from Dr. Brockenbrough, Judge Tucker thus responded:

I have barely time before the closing of the mail to acknowledge the receipt of your friendly letter, and to express my hearty concurrence in the gratification you feel at the election of my brother. I could wish indeed that my name had been withheld, yet hope that its withdrawal even at the time it took place, was not too late to manifest my deference to him. God preserve him long as an honor to his station and the Old Dominion. I cannot but think that this occurrence will reanimate his spirit, and restore him to that activity in the public councils for which he was always remarkable, until he thought himself unkindly treated by his native State. He will now, I trust, see in himself her favorite son.¹

From an "Address of the Democratic Members of the Legislature of New York to the Electors of the State," drawn up in 1840, is taken this extract:

Democratic candidate for the presidency. Though *principles* should be the reason of the democrat in all his political controversies, the New York democrat has an additional incentive to action in THE MAN whom he is called on to support as the representative of his principles at the head of the government. In singleness of character and uprightness of life, he has no superior. In devotion to principle and firmness of purpose, he has shown himself equal to the true hero² whom he has succeeded. — Alike unmoved by corruption and terror, he pursues his public career with the calmness of conscious integrity, determined to preserve the purity of the government, and maintain in its administration the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, at whatever hazard to himself. He has shown himself A WORTHY SON OF NEW YORK.

And shall New York abandon her able, honest, frank and devoted son? For whom shall she give up one who does honor by his principles, his talents, his virtues and his firmness? For a man whose talents are

¹ Garland, Life of Randolph, ii. 240. For this extract I am indebted to Mr. Richard H. Thornton of London.

² Andrew Jackson.

below mediocrity, whose judgment is weak and vacillating, whose vanity is excessive, whose opinions are equivocal, who insults the people whose suffrages he asks, by denying them access to him, and refusing to answer their reasonable inquiries, who places himself behind a committee, not *that they may announce his principles, but that HE may conceal them!* What motive has this great state to abandon *her* FAVORITE SON for such a person? — not *principle* — for she knows not, nor is she permitted to know, the principles of the person who is attempted to be imposed upon her? ¹

In this passage, it will be observed, the sobriquet is applied to Martin Van Buren. But if employed in reference to the man who was actually then President, in the same famous "log cabin," "hard cider," and "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" campaign it was also applied to others whose reputation has since somewhat faded. Later in the year we have this account of another convention:

The Auburn conservative convention. We have just returned from this glorious gathering of the unchanged and unterrified democratic republicans of the state of New York, and language cannot convey to our readers an adequate sense of the intense interest, and deep and grateful emotions excited by this great congregation of the people. . . . The hon. William C. Rives² and the hon. Hugh S. Legare,³ accompanied the New York delegation, and their passage was marked at every point with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of popular respect and esteem, making the trip to Auburn little less than a triumphal progress. Notwithstanding the heavy rain . . . at every stopping place the cars were immediately surrounded by the people, anxious to see, and express their gratitude to, the noble and independent son of Virginia, who had offered himself up as a sacrifice for the country, should the power of the president and the intolerance of party tyranny prove too strong for the popular will. It must have gladdened the heart of old Virginia's "favorite son," to receive these unbought and unpurchasable testimonials of grateful esteem from the democracy of New York.⁴

From the New York Herald of October 3, 1840, is taken the following:

The great meeting of conservatives at Auburn on Thursday last will long be remembered in the annals of the political history of this state.

¹ Niles' Register, lviii. 250.

² William Cabell Rives (1793–1868).

³ Hugh Swinton Legaré (1797–1843).

⁴ Niles' Register, lix. 98.

It was a glorious affair from its commencement to its close, and was attended by about 6,000 of the most intelligent persons in the state, of whom about 300 were of the fairer and better portion of our nature. . . .

The hon. Wm. C. Rives then came forward, and was received with tumultuous shouts of welcome. He spoke as follows: . . .

I appeal to all, without distinction of party, to say whether the measures of Mr. Van Buren's administration have not been, from beginning to end, one continued struggle, to build up executive power; and to build up executive patronage; to use his own language in the better days of his history, for his own condemnation, "to absorb all power from its legitimate purposes, and to condense it under one single head — and that the executive." And this has been done, gentlemen, by a son of the state of New York. I will not call him her favorite son, for you disown him. [A voice in the crowd called out — "we wont own him for a son."]¹

It will perhaps be interesting to us of the present day to note that Mr. Rives spoke for over three hours and a half — or from ten minutes after two o'clock until thirteen minutes before six, after which Mr. Legaré, though from the lateness of the hour he feared that "I shall not do myself justice," held forth from six until half past eight.

The campaign of 1844 gives us glimpses of two "favorite sons," one of whom later attained the presidency, while the reputation of the other, like that of Mr. Rives, has suffered a sea change. We are told that in the autumn of 1843 —

The democratic conferrees of the fourteenth congressional district, have nominated Dr. DAVID UMBERGER of Lebanon county, as the democratic candidate for congress. The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention.

Resolved, That we have full and entire confidence in the tried integrity and republican statesmanship of the Hon. James Buchanan, the favorite son of Pennsylvania for the next Presidency, and will omit no honorable exertions to secure his nomination for that distinguished post, by the national convention.²

From a Philadelphia paper of February 1, 1844, is extracted this account:

¹ Niles' Register, lix. 156, 157, 158.

² lxv. 57.

Johnson Rally.

One of the largest and most enthusiastic Democratic meetings ever convened in Harrisburg, was held on Tuesday evening, January 22d, 1844, in accordance with the following notice:

"JOHNSON MEETING!" — HONOR TO THE BRAVE!
The friends of Old Tecumseh cannot be sold!!!

The friends of Col. R. M. Johnson,¹ the hero of the Thames,² are requested to meet at the court house in Harrisburg, on Tuesday evening, January 22, at the ringing of the bell. Let the friends of the Old Hero come forth! They cannot be transferred like sheep in the market. Let the people be heard, and not the politicians.

Jan. 22, 1844.

MANY.

Although scarcely 24 hours notice of the meeting had been given, yet the house presented one dense mass of hard-fisted yeomanry eager to proclaim to the world their preference for Old Tecumseh, *and for him only*. Gen. SIMON CAMERON, of Middletown, known as one of the most consistent and influential democrats in the state and union, was unanimously called on to preside. A . . . number of spirited resolutions were "enthusiastically adopted," of which we have room for the following extracts only: . . .

Resolved, That the democracy of Pennsylvania is entitled to the privilege of naming a candidate for the presidency, and as "*her own favorite son*" has declined the honor unanimously proffered him by his native state, we now solemnly reiterate our intention, and boldly proclaim our determination to stand by the gallant and distinguished son of Kentucky, Colonel R. M. JOHNSON, *sink or swim*.³

If Buchanan failed to become President until 1856, it was not from lack of persistency on the part of his supporters in presenting his name. In 1848 he was once more put forward:

PENNSYLVANIA NOMINATIONS OF JAMES BUCHANAN. A meeting of "most of" the democratic members of the legislature of Pennsylvania

¹ Richard Mentor Johnson, Vice-President of the United States from 1837 to 1841.

² The battle of the Thames, in which the famous Tecumseh met his death — perhaps at the hand of Col. Johnson himself — was fought October 5, 1813. The battle near Tippecanoe River, Indiana, which gave Harrison his celebrated sobriquet, took place November 7, 1811.

³ Niles' Register, lxv. 371.

took place at Harrisburg on the evening of February 2d, . . . A committee was appointed to draft an address to the people of the United States. At an adjourned meeting on the 8th, . . . said committee reported an address which was *unanimously* adopted. It . . . is exclusively devoted to the subject of the selection of a candidate for the presidency and of the claim that Pennsylvania now has to a long deferred pretension to have a Pennsylvania president, and in recommendation of James Buchanan, "the favorite son of Pennsylvania."¹

From this evidence it appears that Mr. Bryce's characterization of "favorite sons," while true of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, would require some modification if applied to the first half of that century. But the fact is that even by 1840 the sobriquet had undergone some diminution, for — as will now be shown — it was originally applied to Washington. We can even, perhaps, trace the steps by which the sobriquet reached its present form. In the Boston Gazette of September 1, 1777, was printed a poem in seven stanzas, of which the first follows:

A POEM

On that worthy Commander in Chief of the Army of
the UNITED STATES,
By a Friend to his Country.

I

HAIL! Patriot hail! Brave Columbean,
Heaven's Favorite, Freedom's fairest Son;
May Heaven its kindest Blessings send,
And rest them on our worthy Friend.

It is possible that "Favorite" is here an adjective, but more probably it is a noun. In "A Poetical Epistle to his Excellency George Washington, Esquire," printed in a pamphlet in England but written by a Marylander in 1779,² occur these lines:

¹ Niles' Register, lxxiii. 393.

² In the Independent Ledger of June 11, 1781 (p. 1/3), it is stated that "A Sketch of General Washington's Life and Character," by the author of the poem, is dated "Maryland, May 3; 1779."

Fair Liberty, of man the noblest claim,
 Great source of bliss, kind nurse of arts and fame;
She, wrong'd and exil'd from yon eastern climes,
 Perhaps may deign to listen to these rhymes;
 And in these regions pleas'd to find relief,
 May bear them smiling to her fav'rite Chief.¹

In the Independent Ledger of December 24, 1781, appeared a poem signed "Tacitus" in six stanzas, of which the first follows:

COME all Continentals, who WASHINGTON love,
 The pride of Columbia, the fav'rite of Jove,
 And join me in chorus, with hearts full of cheer,
 Whilst I shew you at York-town, the fate of the *Peer*,
 Who for six weeks confin'd in a cave under ground,
 Like a Fox in his hole, was by Washington found.²

Colonel David Humphreys's "Address to the Armies of the United States of America," written in 1782, contains these lines:

Now darkness gather'd round;
 The thunder rumbled, and the tempest frown'd;
 When lo! to guide us thro' the storm of war,
 Beam'd the bright splendor of Virginia's star.
 O first of heroes, fav'rite of the skies,
 To what dread toils thy country bade thee rise!³

It was not, however, until Washington became President that we find the sobriquet now under discussion. The day after his inauguration, which occurred April 30, 1789, a New York newspaper remarked:

Yesterday the Great and illustrious Washington, the favourite son of liberty, and deliverer of his country, entered upon the execution of the office of First Magistrate of the United States of America; to which important station he had been unanimously called by the united voices of the people.⁴

¹ Independent Ledger, Boston, June 4, 1781, p. 1/2.

² The story that Cornwallis hid himself in a cave ran the rounds of the contemporary American newspapers.

³ Miscellaneous Works (1790), p. 17. The poem was also printed in the American Museum, 1787, i. 231.

⁴ New York Daily Gazette, May 1, 1789, p. 426/1.

In "An Ode, For Independence, July 4th, 1789," written by Daniel George at "Portland, (Massachusetts) June, 1789," the fifth of the seven stanzas is as follows:

Pale terrour marches on, with solemn stride;
Cornwallis trembles, Britain's boasted pride:
 He and his armed hosts,
 Surrender all their posts
 To *WASHINGTON*,
 The friend of Liberty — *Columbia's* favourite son.

CHORUS { *Fly, swift-winged Fame,*
The news proclaim:
From shore to shore,
Let cannons roar;
*And joyful voices shout COLUMBIA's name.*¹

In the fall of 1789 Washington began his tour through New England, reaching Boston on Saturday, October 24. A colonnade had been erected "in the West end of the State-House" — the present Old State House — and adjacent was a triumphal arch designed by Bulfinch. A newspaper account reads:

As soon as the President entered this Colonnade, he was saluted by three huzzas from the citizens; and by an ODE sung by a select choir of singers, with Mr. REA at their head, in

THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH

which was adjacent to the Colonnade. This Arch is 18 feet high, composed of a centre arch 14 feet wide, and one on each side, of 7 feet, with an Ionick pilaster and proper imports between them. The freeze exhibits 13 stars on a blue ground, and a handsome white dentule cornice is carried to the height of the platform; above is painted a balustrade of interlaced work, in the centre of which is an oval tablet, with the following inscriptions — On one side, "To the Man who unites all hearts" — and on the other, "To *Columbia's* favourite Son."²

The ode sung on the occasion consisted of eight stanzas, of which the first two follow:

¹ Massachusetts Centinel, July 8, 1789, p. 132/1.

² Ibid. October 28, 1789, p. 50/2.

ODE

TO COLUMBIA'S FAVOURITE SON,

Sung on the arrival of THE PRESIDENT at the State-House.

GREAT Washington the Hero's come,
 Each heart exulting hears the sound,
 Thousands to their Deliv'rer throng,
 And shout him welcome all around !
Now in full chorus join the song,
And shout aloud great WASHINGTON !

There view COLUMBIA's favourite Son,
 Her Father, Fav'rite, Friend and Guide !
 There see th' immortal WASHINGTON !
 His Country's Glory, Boast and Pride !
Now in full chorus, &c.¹

Upon his arrival at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on October 31, 1789, he was greeted by the singing of three odes, the last stanza of the second ode being as follows :

Let strains harmonious rend the air,
 For see the godlike Hero's here !
 Thrice hail, *Columbia's* fav'rite Son,
 Thrice welcome, matchless WASHINGTON.²

The following is an account of the celebration in New York on July 4, 1794 :

The legionary corps of this city, consisting of the troop of horse, the brigade Artillery, and the Granadier and Infantry companies, assembled at 9 o'clock A. M. on the 4th instant, . . . At three o'clock the OFFICERS . . . assembled at the old Coffee-House, . . . and the following TOASTS were drunk under the discharge of Artillery. . . .

3. Columbia's favorite Son, the *virtuous Washington* — May he long live to enjoy the highest mead which a patriot can receive, "the affections of a grateful and happy People." ³

¹ Massachusetts Centinel, October 28, 1789, p. 52/1.

² Ibid. November 11, 1789.

³ New York Journal, July 9, 1794, p. 3/3. In the New York Daily Adver-

An "Occasional Ode, For February 22, 1800," in six stanzas, signed "B. G.," began as follows:

THIS day in happy union met,
 We mourn "*Columbia's* fav'rite son,"
 He 's gone, but can we e'er forget
 The worthy, virtuous WASHINGTON.¹

It will be observed that in all these extracts Washington is called not "America's favorite son," but "Columbia's favorite son." At some future time I shall hope to lay before the Society a detailed account of the use of "Columbia" as applied to this country; for though such use has been noted, it has not received adequate treatment.

In bringing these desultory remarks to a close, it may not be uninteresting to call attention to the dedication by Dr. John Leigh of his work published at Edinburgh in 1786 called An Experimental Inquiry into the Properties of Opium, and its Effect on Living Subjects. Probably this is the first book written by a foreigner to be dedicated to Washington. The inscription, dated "Edinburgh, May 15. 1786," is as follows:

THIS TREATISE IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED
 TO
 GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq.

A MAN EQUALLY REVERED
 BY THE FRIENDS AND FOES OF HIS COUNTRY;
 AND WHOSE CHARACTER WILL,
 WITH UNRIVALLED LUSTRE,
 BE TRANSMITTED TO THE
 LATEST AGES OF POSTERITY,
 FOR CONSUMMATE CONDUCT AND COURAGE,
 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE VIRTUE.²

tiser of July 5, 1790, p. 2, was printed a poem in eight stanzas in which the term is used in a figurative sense. The first and fourth stanzas follow:

The River Delaware to the River Hudson.

TOO long your boisterous waves confine
 Some *favorite sons* that once were mine;
 That long have rov'd from plain to plain,
 But soon shall be my own again.
 Within your bosom, wild and deep,
 Huge Porpoises their lodgings keep;
Here, swoln with *what their betters leave,*
 My lovely Cat-Fish throng the wave.

¹ Columbian Centinel, February 19, 1800, p. 4/1.

² This is taken from a copy in the Washington Collection in the Boston Athen-

Mr. HENRY H. EDES remarked that the account of Washington's reception in Boston in 1789 was of particular interest to him as his great-grandfather, Nathan Webb, then a young man of twenty-two, was in the triumphal arch erected on that occasion.

Mr. EDES read two letters to President Joseph Willard — one dated 10 March, 1787, in which Washington expressed his approbation of the conduct of Tobias Lear¹ of the Harvard Class of 1783, who had been recommended to him by President Willard; the other dated 6 June, 1800, in which Tobias Lear acknowledged on behalf of Mrs. Washington the receipt of a letter from President Willard and of copies of the tribute paid by Harvard College to the memory of Washington.² These letters follow.

I

MOUNT VERNON Mar 10th 1787

REV SIR

Permit me to entreat, that my long delay in acknowledging the receipt of your polite letter of the 15th of May last, may be ascribed to any cause rather than the want of respect for your character and gratitude for the favorable sentiments you have expressed me.

As the letter was introductory of Mr Lear, I found myself inclined, though disposed to give full credence to your acc^t of the talents and good disposition of this young Gentleman, to take time, and seek occasions, to form my own judgement of him; and it is with pleasure I now assure you that, his deportment since he came into this family has been such as to obtain the esteem, confidence, and love of every individual in it.

As (from the interest you have taken in his welfare) I persuade myself this testimony of my approbation of his conduct will not be displeasing to you, I could no longer with-hold it; especially as it affords an occasion

æum. The inscription was noted in the Massachusetts Centinel of April 23, 1788, p. 42/1.

¹ When Washington visited Boston in 1789 (see p. 107, above), he was "attended only by Mr. LEAR, and Major JACKSON, (his Secretaries) and six servants" (Massachusetts Centinel, October 24, 1789, p. 3/2).

² See pp. 134–139, below.

of assuring you of my good wishes for the University over which you preside, and of the esteem & respect with which I have the honor to be

Rev^d Sir

Your most obed^t & humble Serv^t

G^o WASHINGTON

The Rev. Sam. Willard¹

II

MOUNT VERNON, June 6th, 1800.

REVEREND SIR,

In compliance with the request of Mrs. Washington, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to her of the 16th of April, together with three Copies of the performances of the University over which you preside, commemorative of the death of her beloved Husband.

This tribute of respectful veneration paid to the memory of the partner of her Heart, Mrs. Washington receives with grateful sensibility; and while she acknowledges the deep impression made on her mind by the sympathetic feelings expressed in your letter, as well as in the performances, she begs that her best thanks may be made acceptable to yourself and the College; — and requests me to assure you that your wishes, with respect to two of these copies, shall be truly fulfilled.

In making this communication, permit me, Reverend Sir, to express the profound Respect which I entertain for the Character who so honorably presides over my Alma Mater — and to subscribe,

with sincere wishes for your health & happiness

Your most humble & Obedt^t Serv^t

TOBIAS LEAR

The Rev^d Joseph Willard.

[Addressed]

The Revnd Joseph Willard D.D. LL.D.
President of Harvard University
Cambridge
Massachusetts

[Franked]

M. Washington

¹ The address to the Rev. "Sam." Willard was of course an inadvertence.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE made the following remarks:

At a meeting of the Society in March, 1906,¹ Mr. Henry H. Edes communicated a letter from Governor John Hancock, dated October 20, 1783, and addressed to President Willard, in which he offered "to erect a respectable fence" about the College buildings. The rough draft of this letter, from which the copy communicated to the Society was made, was at the time in the possession of Miss Willard, of Cambridge. With other manuscripts it was purchased last week at auction for the College by a generous friend. A letter from President Willard to Governor Hancock, which was acquired at the same time, shows that the Governor's offer was accepted by the Corporation, although, as I stated at the former meeting, the College Records are silent on the subject. This letter, written three months after the offer was made, is as follows:

CAMBRIDGE Jan^{ry} 16, 1784.

SIR,

I have desired Cap^t Walton and M^r Moore,² the College Carpenters, who, according to your Excellency's proposal, have looked out for cedar posts, to wait upon you. They are directed to take your Excellency's orders, in everything respecting the fence, generously designed by you for the College; and I hope, Sir, your Excellency will direct every thing, agreeably to your own taste, which, I am confident, will strike the taste of every judge of architecture.

I have the honor of being,

with the highest esteem & respect,

Sir,

your Excellency's most humble
and obliged serv^t

JOSEPH WILLARD

His Excellency
The Governor

The incident is interesting in view of the somewhat strained relations which had existed between the College and Governor Hancock over the Governor's accounts as Treasurer of the College. In fact, although Hancock had long ceased to be Treasurer and the College

¹ Publications, x. 323.

² For notices of Capt. John Walton and Josiah Moore, see Paige's History of Cambridge, pp. 219, 231, 305, 466, 611, 612.

property had been turned over to the College authorities, no final settlement of his accounts had yet been made, and the College Records of May 31, 1784, show that the Corporation was still pressing him to wind up the business.

In spite of the directions given to the College carpenters to take his Excellency's orders, the fence apparently was not built at Hancock's expense. This at least is to be inferred from the vote of May 2, 1785, "that the President, Treasurer, and Professor Wigglesworth be desired to agree with some workmen to build a fence in front of the Colleges upon the best terms they can."

I have also brought two interesting official letters from John Adams to President Willard, which, with other official documents remaining in their hands, the Misses Willard, of Cambridge, have lately given to the College.

At Commencement, 1781, the Corporation voted to confer the degree of LL.D. on the Chevalier de La Luzerne, the French Minister, on John Adams, and on Arthur Lee, but apparently no formal action was taken, perhaps because, at this time, the College was without a President. In the autumn, the Rev. Joseph Willard, of Beverly, was elected to that office, and in the account of his installation, December 19, 1781, we read that at the close of the ceremonies "the President ascended the pulpit and announced to the assembly that the University had conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws" on the persons named. On April 1, 1783, we find the following vote in the Corporation Records: "That the Diploma for a Doctorate of Laws, conferred on His Excellency John Adams Esqr, some time since, be immediately engrossed, and the seal enclosed in a silver box."¹

¹ College Book, No. 8, p. 134.

This diploma, with its seal and silver box, is now deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was on exhibition in the College Library at the time of President Lowell's inauguration. The diploma contains the following characterization of its recipient:

Vir ille admodum honorabilis, JOHANNES ADAMS armiger, omnibus scientiis ornatus; in legibus vero tam Naturae et Gentium, quam Civili et Municipali versatissimus; Patriae suae et generis humani patronus fervidus, constans, immotus: His rebus patriae natali commendatus ad summos honores ab ea fuit evectus: inter quos Delegatio ad primum illum Congressum Americanum haud

The first letter from Mr. Adams, written on large foolscap, in reply to President Willard's transmitting the diploma, is as follows:

SIR

AUTEUIL near Paris Sept^r 8. 1784.

I have received, by M^{rs} Adams, the Letter you did me, the Honour to write me on the eighth of June last, together with a vote of the President and Fellows of Harvard College of the first of April 1783, and a Diploma for a Doctorate of Laws elegantly engrossed and the Seal inclosed in a Silver Box.

This Mark of the approbation of so respectable a University does me great Honour and is more especially acceptable to me, as it comes from a Society, where I had my Education, and for which I have ever entertained the highest Veneration. Let me pray you, Sir, to present my best Respects, and most hearty Thanks to the Corporation, and to accept the same for the polite and obliging manner, in which you have communicated their Resolution and Diploma.

Your design, Sir, of visiting the Universities of Europe to become acquainted with their Laws, Customs, and modes of Education, is a very wise one. The Reflections you would make and the Correspondences you would form, would amply compensate the Trouble and Expence, although I can give you no Encouragement to hope, for the smallest pecuniary Advantage. It is the general Sentiment, in Europe, even of those who are not professed Ennemis to America, that there is already in that Country, Wealth and Knowledge enough, and too many Advantages for acquiring more, to make it necessary for them to contribute any of theirs to our Assistance.

If you come, Sir, while I remain in Europe you may depend upon any Assistance, which a Residence of near Seven Years abroad, in France, Holland and England, may enable me to give you, in obtaining Introductions to such Characters as you wish to see.

After all, the System of Education at your University is so excellent that I should not wish to see it essentially changed, much less conformed to the Models in Europe, where there is much less Attention to the Morals and Studies of the Youth. In this Sentiment I am so fully fixed as to be very desirous of giving my own Son an Opportunity to study with you. He has travelled with me and M^r Dana, for near seven years, and has

fuit minimus. In rebus Americanis gerendis ita se Congressui probavit, ut ad Europam, pacis conciliandae causa, mitteretur Plenipotentiarius: Ea autem re frustratus, Legatus postea apud Provincias Batavorum federatas est constitutus.

The drafts of all three diplomas still exist in the College Archives.

seen the most of Europe, but he has not neglected his Studies. He has been matriculated in the University of Leyden, and studied there sometime, and might have a Degree there, with the Attendance of a few Months more. He is advanced in Age and I flatter myself in Literature so far as to render it impossible for me to offer him, at Harvard Colledge as a Freshman. But if the Laws will admit him, after an Examination and upon the Payment of a Sum of Money for the Benefit of the Society, with the Class of the fourth or third Year, I should chose to send him to you rather than to Leyden. I should be much obliged to you for your Sentiments upon this Subject.

With the greatest Respect and
Esteem I have the Honour to be, Sir
your most obedient and
most humble Servant

The Reverend Joseph Willard
President of the University
at Cambridge

JOHN ADAMS.

Adams's letter was communicated to the Corporation, and on November 16, 1784, the President and Fellows passed the following vote:

1. His Excellency, John Adams Esqr, having, in a letter to the President, expressed his desire, that his eldest son, who has been a matriculated Student in the University of Leyden, should complete his education in this University, provided, upon his being found qualified for an advanced standing, he should pay the sum required for admittance in such cases,

Voted, that the President be desired to inform Mr Adams, that this Corporation has such a high sense of the services he has performed for his Country, that, should his son be sent to this University, he shall be admitted to whatever advanced standing the President Professors and Tutors, on examination, shall find him qualified for, free from all charges.¹

The second letter from Adams is in reply to President Willard's letter communicating the Corporation's vote, and its reference to his son and the experience he had had during the years in which he remained in Europe with his father, is most interesting:

SIR AUTEUIL near Paris April 22, 1785

I have received the Letter you did me the Honour to write me the fourteenth of December, with the Resolution of the President and Fel-

¹ College Book, No. 8, p. 182.

lows of the University of the Sixteenth of November, which, as well as the Concurrence of the Board of Overseers, does me great Honour and demands my most grateful Acknowledgements.

My Son, John Quincy Adams, for whom this favour is intended will have the Honour to deliver you this Letter, and I beg leave to recommend him to the kind Protection of the Corporation, and the candid Friendship of his fellow Students. He has wandered with me in Europe for Seven Years, and has been for the last Eighteen Months my only Secretary, so that it may be easily conceived, I shall part with him with Reluctance. But the Necessity of breeding him to some Profession, in which he may provide for himself, and become a usefull Member of Society, and a Conviction that no American can be any where so well educated as in his own Country, have induced me to relinquish the Pleasure of his Company and the Advantage of his Assistance. I think I do not flatter him nor myself, when I say, that he is a studious Youth, and not addicted to any Vice; of his Advancement in Literature and the Sciences you will form an Estimate from his Examination, which would probably be more for his ease and Safety if it could be in French, with which Language he is more familiar than his own. But as this is not to be expected, an allowance will naturally be made, [on] account of his long absence from home.

It is somewhat delicate to give Advice upon the Point of your Travels to Europe. There is no doubt but considerable Advantages might be obtained, but considering the Time, the Expence and the Risque I think if I had the Honour to be a Member of the Corporation or the Overseers, I should estimate these as probably so much more than the others, as to advise my Countrymen as they are so happy as to have a good President, to preserve him carefully at the Head of his University. Our Commercial Negotiations, Sir, which your public Spirit naturally enquires after, proceed so slowly and to so little Effect, that I wish myself on your side the Water, and whether any other Plan would suceed better is too uncertain to excite any sanguine Hopes. All the Ports of Europe, however are open to our Vessells, those with whom we have no Treaties as well as the others.

I have the Honour to be, with the utmost
Esteem and Respect, Sir your
most obedient and most
humble Servant
JOHN ADAMS

The Reverend Joseph Willard
President of Harvard University

John Quincy Adams went abroad with his father in February, 1778, when he was but eleven years of age. He was in Paris till June, 1779, when he returned with his father to America, but went back to France in the following November. In July, 1780, Adams was sent as Ambassador to the Netherlands, and his son studied at Amsterdam and at Leyden till July, 1781, when he went to St. Petersburg as private secretary to Francis Dana, the American Minister to Russia. He was in Stockholm during the winter of 1782-1783, then joined his father again at The Hague, and later accompanied him to Paris. In May, 1785, he returned to the United States, and after being tutored for a few months, entered the Junior Class at Harvard in March, 1786, graduating with high honors in 1787. The following passage is worth reprinting in connection with the letters presented:

I have been seven years travelling in Europe, seeing the world, and in its society. If I return to the United States, I must be subject, one or two years, to the rules of a college, pass three more in the tedious study of the law, before I can hope to bring myself into professional notice. The prospect is discouraging. If I accompany my father to London, my satisfaction would possibly be greater than by returning to the United States; but I shall loiter away my precious time, and not go home until I am forced to it. My father has been all his lifetime occupied by the interests of the public. His own fortune has suffered. His children must provide for themselves. I am determined to get my own living, and to be dependent upon no one. With a tolerable share of common sense, I hope, in America, to be independent and free. Rather than live otherwise, I would wish to die before my time.¹

¹ J. Quincy, *Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams*, p. 4.

MARCH MEETING, 1910

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 March, 1910, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death at Newport, Rhode Island, on 16 March, 1910, of MORRIS HICKY MORGAN, a Resident Member; and tributes to his memory were paid by Mr. GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE and Mr. HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM.

The TREASURER announced that Mr. George V. Leverett had made the generous offer to pay for the publication of Volume II, to contain the Royal Commissions issued to the Governors and others of the Massachusetts Bay; and that the gifts of two other members had made it possible to issue Volume IV. Whereupon, on the motion of Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON, it was—

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be sent to Mr. George V. Leverett, Mr. Thomas Minns, and Mr. Henry W. Cunningham, for their generous gifts by means of which the Society will be able to complete its series of Publications to the present time.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following communication:

A SACRAMENT CERTIFICATE, 1673

In the House of Commons on February 28, 1672–73, “Mr *Sacheverell*¹ Moves for removing all Popish Recusants out of military office or command.”² On the same day it was —

Resolved, That a Bill be brought in for the incapacitating of all Persons who shall refuse to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Sacrament, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, of holding any publick Employments, military or civil: And that it be referred to the Committee, appointed to draw up the Address for suppressing of Popery, to prepare and bring in the same.³

On March 13 “An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants” was read in the House of Lords for the first time, and for the second time on March 14;⁴ and on March 21 there was received in the House of Commons —

A Message from the Lords, by the Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan*, and Mr. Baron *Windham*;⁵

Mr. Speaker, The Lords have commanded to acquaint you, that they have agreed to the Bill, sent from this House, intituled, An Act for preventing Dangers, which may happen from Popish Recusants; with some Amendments and Provisoes, to which they desire your Concurrence.⁶

The “Amendments and Provisoes” led to much discussion between the Lords and Commons,⁷ the controversy not being settled until March 29. Sir George Downing, our Harvard graduate of the Class of 1642, was then a member of the House of Commons and took part in some of the discussions of that session of Parliament, but he does not seem to have spoken on the Act in question. An

¹ William Sacheverell (1638–1691).

² Grey’s Debates of the House of Commons (1769), ii. 74.

³ Journals of the House of Commons, ix. 260.

⁴ Journals of the House of Lords, xii. 554, 555.

⁵ Sir John Vaughan (1603–1674); Sir Hugh Wyndham (1603–1684).

⁶ Journals of the House of Commons, ix. 271.

⁷ The matter can be followed in the Manuscripts of the House of Lords, Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, part ii. pp. 29–31.

amusing episode that occurred on the last day of the session (March 29) is recorded for the benefit of those Americans who think that our British cousins are lacking in a sense of humor. Sir Thomas Lee said, "If you will adjourn now, adjourn the Debate likewise to the next Session, and let it be upon your Books." Whereupon "The House divided even upon the Question, 105 to 105: The Speaker¹ had the casting voice, and gave it for adjourning, and jestingly said, 'He would have his reason for his judgment recorded, *viz.* because he was very hungry.'"²

It may prove interesting to give the procedure in the House of Lords on March 29:

King present.

The King, sitting in His Royal Throne, adorned with His Crown and other Regal Ornaments, commanded Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to signify to the House of Commons His Pleasure, "That they presently attend his Majesty."

The Commons being come, their Speaker made a short Speech, and presented to His Majesty a Bill, . . .

Which Bill was received from the Speaker, at the Bar, by the Clerk of the Parliaments, and brought to the Table.

Bills passed.

And the Clerk of the Crown read the Title; *videlicet*, "An Act for raising the Sum of Twelve Hundred "Thirty-eight Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty "Pounds, for Supply of His Majesty's extraordinary "Occasions."

To which the Clerk of the Parliaments pronounced the Royal Assent, in these Words,

"*Le Roy, remerciant Ses bons Subjects, accepte leur Benevolence, et ainsi le veult.*"

Then His Majesty proceeded to give His Royal Assent in the like Manner, to these Bills following:

Public Bills:

"An Act for the King's Majesty's most gracious, "general and free Pardon."

¹ Sir Edward Seymour (1633-1708).

² Grey's Debates of the House of Commons, ii. 177.

"An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen
"from Popish Recusants."

To these Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced in
these Words,
"*Le Roy le veult.*"¹

In a letter to Viscount Conway² written on March 29, Viscount Ranelagh³ said

The Parliament is to-night adjourned till 20 Oct., and your friend the Speaker made a very handsome speech, which I hope to send you by the next. Upon the King's giving the Royal assent to the bill against Popery there was the greatest hum amongst the Commoners that ever was heard.⁴

On the day following John Evelyn made this entry in his Diary:

March 30th. Easter Day: . . . At the sermon *coram Rege*, preached by Dr. Sparrow, Bp. of Exeter,⁵ to a most crowded auditorie; I staied to see whether according to costome the Duke of York receiv'd the communion with the King; but he did not, to the amazement of every body. This being the second yeare he had forborn and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an Act against ye increase of Poperie, gave exceeding grieve and scandal to the whole nation, that the heyre of it, and ye sonn of a martyr for ye Protestant religion, should apostatize. What the consequence of this will be, God onely knows, and wise men dread.⁶

One consequence was that the Duke of York laid down his offices.
The Act of 25 Charles II, Chapter II, which has gone into history

¹ Journals of the House of Lords, xii. 584. Nine titles of public Acts are given, after which follow the titles of private bills. "To these Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced in these Words, '*Soit fait come il est désiré*'" (xii. 585)

² Edward Conway, first Viscount Conway.

³ Richard Jones, third Viscount and first Earl of Ranelagh.

⁴ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1673, p. 100. Cf. pp. 397, 398, 482, 593.

⁵ Anthony Sparrow, later Bishop of Norwich.

⁶ Diary (Wheatley's edition), ii. 290. In 1885 the Rev. John H. Overton said that "This Test Act . . . originated in the panic which arose from the marriage of the Duke of York with a Romanist, and his Romish tendencies generally" (Life in the English Church, p. 170). James's first wife, Anne Hyde, died March 31, 1671; and his marriage by proxy to Mary of Modena did not take place until October 30, 1673 — and hence had nothing to do with the Test Act.

as the Test Act of 1673, contains fifteen sections, of which several follow:

Persons that bear
any Offices or Places
of Trust under His
Majesty, &c. to take
the Oaths of Suprem-
acy and Allegiance.

When and where
to appear and take
Oaths;

3 Jac. I. c. 4. § 15.

During taking the
Oaths Pleas to cease.

FOR preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants and quieting the minds of his Majestyes good Subjects Bee it enacted . . . That all and every person or persons as well Peeres as Commoners that shall beare any Office or Offices Civill or Military or shall receive any Pay, Salary, Fee or Wages by reason of any Patent or Grant from his Majestie or shall have Command of Place of Trust from, or under his Majestie . . . within the Realme of England, Dominion of Wales or Towne of Berwicke upon Tweede, or in his Majestyes Navy or in the severall Islands of Jersey and Guernsey or shall be of the Household or in the Service or imployment of his Majestie, or of his Royall Highnesse the Duke of Yorke who shall inhabite, reside or be within the City of London or Westminster or within thirty miles distant from the same on the first day of Easter Terme that shall be in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred seaventy three or at any time dureing the said Terme all and every the said person and persons shall personally appeare before the end of the said Terme or of Trinity Terme next following in his Majestyes High Court of Chancery or in his Majestyes Court of Kings Bench and there in publique and open Court betweene the houres of nine of the Clocke and twelve in the Forenoone take the severall Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance which Oath of Allegiance is contained in a Statute made in the third yeare of King James by Law established, and dureing the time of the takeing theirof by the said person and persons all Pleas and Proceedings in the said respective Courts shall cease; And that all and every of the said respective persons and Officers not haveing taken the said Oathes in the said respective Courts aforesaid shall on or before the first day of August one thousand six hundred seaventy three at the Quarter Sessions for that County or place where he or they shall be, inhabite or reside on the twentyeth day of May take the said Oathes in open Court betweene the said houres of nine and twelve.

and the said Officers
to receive the Sacra-
ment according to
the Usage of the
Church of England.

of the Clocke in the Forenoone, And the said respective Officers aforesaid shall alsoe receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper according to the Usage of the Church of England at or before the first day of August in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred and seaventy three in some Parish Church upon some Lords day commonly called Sunday immediately after Divine Service and Sermon.

II.
A Certificate, with
Proof thereof, upon
Oath to be delivered
into Court of his re-
ceiving the Sacra-
ment.

. . . And every of the said persons in the respective Court where he takes the said Oathes shall first deliver a Certificate of such his receiving the said Sacrament as aforesaid under the Hands of the respective Minister and Churchwarden and shall then make prooфе of the truth thereof by two credible Witnesses at the least upon Oath, All which shall be inquired of and putt upon record in the respective Courts. . . .

VIII.
Persons taking the
Oaths to subscribe
the Declaration fol-
lowing.

AND bee it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaid That at the same time when the persons concerned in this Act shall take the aforesaid Oathes of Supremacy and Alleigiance, they shall likewise make and subscribe this Declaration following under the same Penalties and Forfeitures as by this Act is appointed.

I A. B. doe declare That I doe beleive that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at, or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. . . .

xv.
and for Constables,
Tythingmen, &c.

PROVIDED alsoe That this Act or any thing therein contained shall not extend to the Office of any High Constable, Petty Constable, Tithingman, headburrough, Overseer of the Poore, Churchwardens, Surveyour of the Highwayes or any like inferiour Civill Office, or to any Office of Forester or Keeper of any Parke, Chace, Warren or Game, or of Bayliff of any Mannour or Lands, or to any like private Offices, or to any person or persons haveing onely any the before mentioned, or any the like Offices.¹

¹ Statutes of the Realm (1819), v. 782–785. The Act is printed in full in Gee and Hardy's Documents Illustrative of English Church History, pp. 632–640. The Corporation and Test Acts Repeal Bill received the Royal assent on May 9, 1828 (Journals of the House of Commons, lxxxiii. 333).

Turning once more to Evelyn we find, under date of April 26, 1673, this entry:

Dr. Lamplugh¹ preached at St. Martine's, the holy sacrament following, which I partook of, upon obligation of the late Act of Parliament, enjoyning every body in office, civil or militarie, under penaltie of £500, to receive it within one moneth before two authentiq witnesses; being engrossed on parchment, to be afterwards produced in the Court of Chancery, or some other Court of Record; which I did at the Chancery barr, as being one of the Council of Plantations and Trade; taking then also the oath of allegiance and supremacy, signing the clause in the said Act against Transubstantiation.²

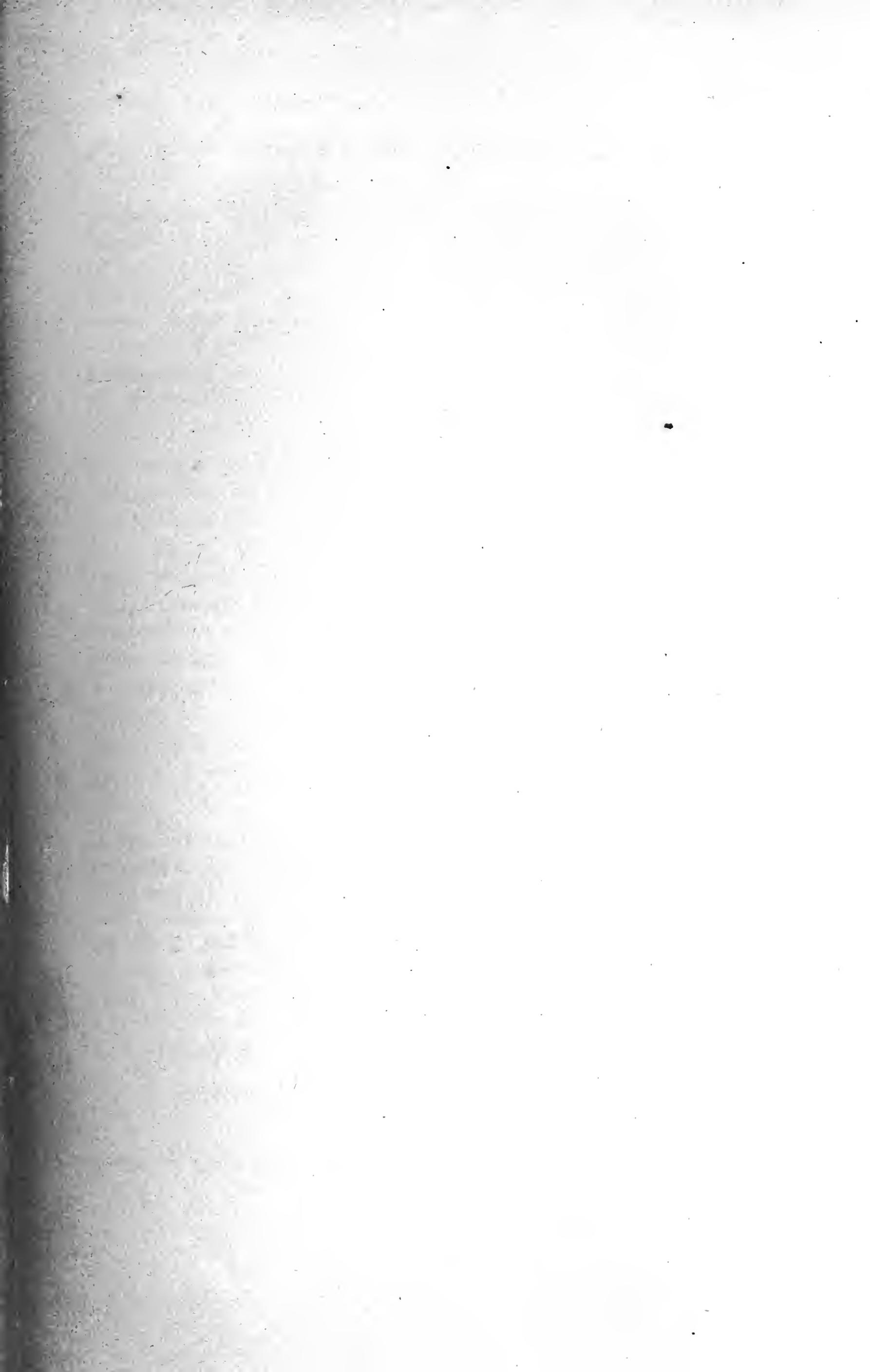
It is reasonable to suppose that the certificates made necessary by the Test Act must at one time have existed in large numbers; but however that may be, few appear to have been preserved. Owing to the kindness of a friend — Mr. E. P. Merritt of Boston — I am able to exhibit to-day one of these certificates, recently bought by Mr. Merritt in England.³ In the sale catalogue it is called a "sacrament certificate" and is said to be "a very curious and rare item." The term "sacrament certificate," not recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary, is perhaps due to the cataloguer; and statements found in sale catalogues as to rarity should be received with caution. Nevertheless the document is, I think, one of considerable interest. It is written on a piece of parchment which measures $8\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and reads as follows:

Wee Robert Jones Minister of the parish and parish Church of Wellesborne in the County of Warwick and Thomas Jackson Churchwarden of the same parish and parish Church Do here by certify that John Eeds of Wellesborne in the County of Warwick Gent vpon the Lords Day commonly called Sunday the nine & twentieth day of this instant June immediately after divine Service and Sermon did in the parish Church aforesaid receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper according to the vsage of the Church of England. In witnes whereof we have hereunto subscribed our hands the nine & twentieth Day

¹ Thomas Lamplugh, Bishop of Exeter, 1676–1688; Archbishop of York, 1688–1691.

² Diary, ii. 291.

³ I am also indebted to Mr. Merritt for permission to reproduce the certificate in facsimile.



Wednesday Aug 10th 1903

We observed some Spanish moss sprout along
the bottom of the ravine at the base of the hill.
The Spanish moss was very sparse and
was found in patches of 10 or 12 feet
square. It was about 20 days away only trunks
and work ground. It was not common
and from the top of the hill it could
be seen for miles. The Spanish
moss was scattered over the ground
in patches of 10 or 12 feet square.
The Spanish moss was scattered over the ground
in patches of 10 or 12 feet square.

Common moss

A. Document Certificate, 1679

Engrossed for the Colonial County of Massachusetts,
from the original in the possession of
Edward Winslow. Mott. Signe

Thomas Flynnter

Attala County
25th Augt 1679

Gold Pece

Marwick inot his satisfitte
hime in the said estifit and payed
and that ther gift for the said
young Minnow and Thomas Flynnter
of Neworth and for John Flappier Do say upon their 27th instant
all other mabes and thing in the said certificate attibuted
expressed were true, I do signe
Attala County Augt 25th 1679



of June in the year of our lord One thousand six hundred seventy and three.

ROBERT JONES minister of the parish and
parish Church of Wellesborne in
the County of Warwick.

THOMAS JACKSON Churchwarden of the
said parish and parish Church.

Thomas Aylworth of Wellesborne in the County of Warwick Gent & John Hopper of Wellesborne in the same County Gent Do severally make oath that they do know John Eeds Gent in the abovewritten certificate named and who now p^rsent hath Deliuered the same into this Court, And Do further make oath that they did see the said John Eeds receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in the parish Church of Wellesborne in the County of Warwick in the said certificate men^coned and vpon the day and at the time in the said certificate in that behalf certi- fied and Expressed And that they did see the Certificate abovewritten subscribed by the said Robert Jones minister and Thomas Jackson Churchwarden And further the said Thomas Aylworth and John Hop- per Do say upon their respective oathes that all other matters and things in the said certificate recited men^coned or expressed are true, As they verily believe.

Jurat in Cu^r 2^o die Julij }
Anno 25^{to} Car scdi regis }

THOMAS AYLWORTH
JOHN HOPPER

There are in Warwickshire two Wellesbournes — the parish of Wellesbourne Hastings, and the hamlet of Wellesbourne Mountford, which is comprised within the parish. Wellesbourne Hastings lies about six miles south of Warwick and four miles east of Stratford-on-Avon, the road to the latter passing by Charlecote, the famous seat of Sir Thomas Lucy. At the time of the Norman conquest, the two Wellesbournes were included together and were given by William I to Henry de Newburgh, by whom was built the parish church, dedicated to St. Peter.¹

Of the persons mentioned in the document, I have been able to obtain no information except the Rev. Robert Jones, who was minister of the parish from 1667 to 1691.²

In January, 1896, Mr. Andrew McF. Davis communicated a

¹ William Smith, New & Compendious History of the County of Warwick, 1830, p. 90.

² Dugdale, Antiquities of Warwickshire (1730), i. 573, 574.

memorandum showing that on April 1, 1746, "His Excellency William Shirley Esq^r Collonel of a Regiment, to be forthwith raised for the Defence of Cape Breton, came into Court . . . and produced a certificate of his having receiv'd the Sacrament of the Lords Supper according to the Usage of the Church of England, immediately after Divine Service & Sermon, on the thirtieth Day of March last."¹ Shirley had been rewarded after the Louisburg campaign with an appointment as colonel in the British Army.

Mr. MATTHEWS also spoke as follows :

In February, 1909, it was shown that in 1794 Washington's birthday was celebrated in Boston on February 11th and again on the 22nd,² the former occasion having been under the auspices of the Shakespearean Society. In looking over some papers a few days ago, I found two other references to this society which had escaped my attention a year ago. The following extract is taken from a Boston newspaper:

Shakespearean Society.

During the Revolution, the *Irish* nation were uniformly friends to American liberty and independence — and when occasion offers, Americans are not found wanting in gratitude. Monday last, being the anniversary of the Patron of that nation; and the anniversary too of the evacuation of this town by the forces of *Britain*, a number of the sons of *Hibernia* and *America* celebrated the day in becoming festivity and social glee. After dinner the following, among other toasts and sentiments were given: — 1st. ST. PATRICK — The Patron of *Hibernia*. May his fellow islanders *speedily* experience the liberty and felicity, the citizens of the United States now enjoy. 2d. The Patron of all Freemen — the President of the United States. In every Revolution in favour of Liberty, may Providence give a WASHINGTON to each oppressed nation. 3d. The Vice-President³ and Congress of the United States — May they have *Wisdom* to pursue the best interests of their constituents — and *Spirit* to resent every *insult* on their *Rights*, or *outrage* on their *property*. 4th. The memory of the late Governor of Massachusetts.⁴ — May his successors imitate his virtues, and, like him, enjoy the love,

¹ Publications, iii. 194—195.

² John Adams.

³ Publications, xii. 254.

⁴ John Hancock.

gratitude and respect of their fellow-citizens. 5th. The Patriot of 1775 — SAMUEL ADAMS — May the citizens of Massachusetts, at the ensuing election, convince the World that *gratitude* ever inhabits the bosoms of Freemen. 6th. The French Republic — May the Altar of Gallic Liberty, be founded on the immutable basis of *Social Order* — and be cemented with *genuine Freedom*, and *Equal Rights*. 7th. LA FAYETTE — May Americans exhibit to the World an *example*, that Freedom never can desert their friends in adversity. 8th. In our festivity let us remember our Brethren in slavery and in chains — and may the public spirit of Americans speedily wipe off the stain of permitting their fellow countrymen so long to continue captives in *Algiers*. 9th. May the *circle* of social Happiness know no boundaries but that of the *Ecliptic*. 10th. May Americans recognize the just value of their present happy Constitution — and should occasion require spend the last drop of their blood in its defence. 11th. May the Genii of *Reason* and *Social Fellowship* condemn to the guillotine the Dæmons of *Envy* and *Superstition*. 12th. The Irish Nation — May the Hibernian Harp speedily vibrate in union with the sweetest chords of Liberty. 13th. The *Society* of Mankind. If in this narrow World their pleasures must be circumscribed; in the world to come, may they convene in *full meeting*, and enjoy the favour of the Supreme President of all Worlds. Volunteers by gentlemen visitors. 14th. The American Republic one and indivisible. 15th. May the harmony and felicity of the Shakespearean Society continue until the *exeunt omnes* of *Time*, shall prepare Mankind for the *first scene* of ETERNITY.¹

It is possible that the final toast, which seems to have a theatrical tinge, gives us a clue to the society. After much opposition, the law against theatrical performances had been repealed, and on February 3, 1794, the Boston Theatre was opened with a company under the management of Charles Stuart Powell. Can it be that the Shakespearean Society owed its origin to this company?

The other reference occurs in a notice printed in a Boston paper in 1795:

SHAKSPERIAN SOCIETY.

TAKE NOTICE — All persons who have regularly been balloted for, as Members of the above Society, who have not signed the Articles, since their being new revised, must attend this Evening, and

¹ Columbian Centinel, Wednesday, March 19, 1794, p. 3/1.

execute the same, or they will not be admitted as Members thereof. Members of the above society are requested to attend early on particular business.

By Order,

J. ROBINSON, Sec'y.¹

Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY communicated a copy of a letter written in 1633 by the Rev. Thomas Welde, who had recently been ejected by Laud from his living at Terling, Essex, England, and had come to New England in the William and Francis in that year. The letter follows.

A Letter of Master Wells from
New England to Old England
to his people at Tarling
in Essex. It is a letter
Setting forth the great
Mercis of God with
praise and thanks
giuing
1633

Most deare and welbeloued in Tarling euen all that Loue the Lord Jesus Christs Gospell and my selfe, rich and poore, weeke and strong, young and old, Male & Female I vnto you all in one Letter wanting time to mention you all in particular. you being all deare vnto mee yea most deare to my heart in Jesus Christ for whom I bow the knee to the Father of Lights longing to here of your grat welfare and spirituall growth in his deere Sonne: from your presence though I be placed and must see your faces no more yet I shall after a few weary daies ended and all teares wiped away, and though happily neuer on earth yet in the New Jerusalem And heare though we cannot be suffered to liue togeter yet there we shall enjoy together sweet society in all fulnes of perfection to all eternity. O blessed for euer blessed be his holy name And let the heauen and earth, and Sea & men, wittnes of his fauour to vs and ours and sound out his glorious praises, yea lett all within vs, without vs, yea all that we can ring out the riches of his grace from Sea to Sea, from New England to Old and from Old to New, for all his abundant mercys temporall, Sperit-

¹ Columbian Centinel, March 7, 1795, p. 3/2.

uall and eternall past present and to Come, bestowed continued & renewed and multiplied on vs all, in particular, on mee and mine, for he hath laden me and Crowned mee with marcyes euer since our last imbracing drowned in teares for our Sad departure, as paul told his deare friend, weeping because that they should se each others no more. To Holland in Holland from Holland Mercyes, Mercyes, To New England in New England abundance of marcys, I haue cause to stand and wonder had I but a heart so effected, that I and all mine are passed the deepes and are aliue and well yea mercy mercy in the Lord inwardly outwardly, in spite of Diuellis and stormes as Cherefull as ever, my wife¹ all the voyage on y^e Sea better then at land, and sea sicke but one day in a xi weekes, att sea my Children neuer better in their liues. They went ill into y^e ship but well there and came forth well as euer My selfe had not one ounce of sea sicknes, nor one motion or inclination therunto not all the way, Stand still and behold the Saluation of y^e Lord and not only I and all mine well & safe but all in the Shipe being neere eaughty passengers yea some very aged xii persons being all able to make well nigh one thousand years, some very yonge and hanging on the brest, some women big with Childe and one deliuered of a lusty Childe within forty houres after she landed She and the Child well, and so continue to this day. Another woman in our ship of sixty yeers old who had laboured of a Consumption and strong cough of the Lunges vii yeaeres is not only aliue but came forth of the ship fully cured of the Cough as fresh as Eglle that hath cast her bill and renewed her strength I am the ey witnes of this and we hope God may add to her xv yeers to her life.

And not only all saffe in our ship but all saff in the ships that came this Spring out of England laden with passengers, Cattell and goods. Wherein not a man woman or Childe died by the way nor since that came to shore, nor any of them y^t Came weakly to land but abide strong through Gods mercy to this day our shippes being all in this admirable manner ariued there was holden and y^t by a thority a publique solemne day of thanksgivung² to God for his mercy. within seuen days after landing, from which I am perswaded God smelt a sauour of rest As in Noahs sacrifice when he came forth of the Aarke Heare we are come into as goodly a land as euer mine eyes beheld such groues, such trees such a aire as I am fully contented withall and desire no better while I

¹This was Mr. Welde's first wife, Margaret.

²Winthrop in his Journal notes the arrival of Welde on June 5, 1632, and the thanksgiving on June 13.

liue, yea I see assuredly with industry and selfe denyall men may subsist as well here as in any place. The plantation is now sett vpon fishing for a stable comodity, Store of Salt I see already for the fish and a shipe to goe to the Salt Islands for more where are mountains of salt for the feching, and shallop made & tackling prouided to catch it withall & to send it into other countries to fetch in all other comoditys here is also rape oyle which is like to be a sta come. Heare I find three great blessings peace, plenty and health in a Comfortable measure the place well agreeth with our English bodies that they were neuer so healthy in their natvie Contrey generally all heare, as neuer could be rid of the head ach, tooth ach. Cough and the like are now better and fred heare and those that were weake are now well long since and I cane heare of bvt two weak in all the plantation Gods name be praised and although there was wanting at y^e first, that prouision at the first glutt of people that came ouer two yeere since, but blessed be God here is plenty of Corne that the poorest haue enough, Corne is heare at 5^s - 6 a Bushel, in truth you cannot Imagine what comfortable diet the Indian Corne doe make and what pleasand and wholsome food it makes. Our Cattell of all do thriue and feed exceedingly, I suppose that such as are to come need bring no more or littele or no prouision except mault, (but no more of these things) I would haue none aime at outward matters in such an attempt as this, least the Lord meet him in the way as he meatt Balaam with a drawn sword but at things of an higher nature and more Spirituall nature. O how hath my heart been mad glad with the comforts of his house and the spirituall days in y^e same wherein all things are done in the forme & patterne shewed in the mount members providd church officers elected & ordained Sacrament administred, Scandalls preuented censured. Fast days & holy dayes & holy fest days and all such things by Athority Commanded & performed according to the precise rule. Mine eyes blessed be God do see such administration of Justice in ciuile gouernment All things so righteously so religiousely and impartially carried, I am already fully paid for my voyage Who neuer had so mvch in the Stormes at Sea as one repenting thought rested in my heart praised & thanked be God who moued my heart to Come and made open the way to mee And I profes if I mite haue my wish in what part of the world to dwell, I know no other place on the whole globe of the earth where I would be rather then here: We say to our freends that doubt this Come and see and tast Here the greater part are the better part, here Mordicai speaketh kindly to the hearts of his people Here are none of the men of Gibeon the sonnes of Belial knocking at our doors disturbing

our sweet peace or threatening violence, Here blessed be the Lord God for euer Our eares are not beaten nor the aire filled with Oaths. Swearers nor Railers, Nor our eyes and eares vexed with the vnclea Conversation of the wicked, Here it is counted an honour by the worst to lay hold on the shirt of a Jew, Here if any be our Sanballets¹ would thrust in them selus yet could not, Here the rudeſt haue a Charg and dare not breake it. I say the Lord Continue & inlarge it still these sweet incouragments, and make us walke worthy and it is enough. I desier no more till I come in heauen, Conceiue vs not as if we went about to justifie our selues or dreame of perfection no God knowes wee thinke our selues y^e pooreſt and vnworthiest of all his saruants justly elce he mite spue vs out of his mouth, only we desier to breath after perfection and to know what is the rule & to walke in it. Nor as if we went about to Condemne other places besides our owne, or other men besids our selues no. no, I assure you we looke att our dere natiu country as the place where the Lord shewed vs mercy and to his holy ordinances there is the holy meanes of our God (if euer we had itt) we had itt there, we pray for your Congregations publique & pri—ed we fast and pray for you, we loue you derely you ly next our hearts Sorrow we are when we here any evill bētide you: glad when any good, we desier to do this for euer And let our tongue cleave to the rooſe of our mouth if we forget you my beloued haue the like affection towards us as we haue towards you in the Lord, yet we cannot but mourne for y^e spotss and blemishs y^t are among your meetings which the Lord of his infinit marcy clense away. to returne to my own perticuler at my first landing I was so far from wanting a place of receist that I was so importuned in fore seuerall places that it was a trouble to know what freend to gratify, At last I rested with Mr Masell² at Charles Towne where now I am with my family most kindly entertained till I knowe where God shall dispose of mee. I am most earnestly entreated to be in fore seuerall Congregations and all haue sought by publique and Solemne Fasting and prayer that God would moue my heart thither if it be his will.

The blessing of God be with you all my dere hearts I desier now to hear from you hoping that by this time the Lord hath prouided some faithfull pastor to teach and watch ouer you in the Lord. Once more farewell. The Lord Comfort your hearts, bottle you teares, pardon your

¹ The allusion is to Sanballat the Horonite: see Nehemiah, iv. 1.

² Probably Ralph Mousall: see Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charles-town, ii. 688.

Sinnes, Supply your wants, Worke all your workes for you. Know your
Souls

in aduersity and presarue
you to his euerlasting kingdom

Amen

1633.¹

¹ The manuscript is thus described by Mr. Scott: "Weld *al.* Wells (Thomas), *Vicar of Terling, co. Essex.* Letter from New England to his people at Terling, 1633. *Copy.* 922, ff. 90–93 b" (Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. 563).

APRIL MEETING, 1910

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at Gore Hall, Cambridge, on Thursday, 28 April, 1910, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, HORACE EVERETT WARE, and FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. HAROLD MURDOCK and EZRA HENRY BAKER.

Mr. JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL of Cohasset was elected a Resident Member; Mr. JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH of Hanover, New Hampshire, a Corresponding Member; and the Hon. ELIHU ROOT of New York an Honorary Member.

Mr. DENISON R. SLADE exhibited an original portrait by Smibert, recently restored, of Edward Bromfield of the Harvard Class of 1742; the mortar-board worn by the Rev. Eliphalet Pearson of the Harvard Class of 1773; and a broadside of 1758 containing the *Questiones pro modulo Discutendae*, which the candidates in that year for the Master's degree maintained.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE read a paper on the Bells of Harvard College, written by Dr. Arthur H. Nichols of Boston.¹

¹ Dr. Nichols's paper will be printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1911.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

In February last Mr. Henry H. Edes communicated a letter written by Tobias Lear to President Joseph Willard acknowledging in behalf of Mrs. Washington the receipt of a letter from President Willard and of copies of the tribute paid by Harvard College to the memory of Washington.¹ It was natural that the death of Washington should have drawn from the College authorities a special tribute; for it was there that he had received in 1776 his first honorary degree, and it was there that he had been presented with an address on the occasion of his visit to New England in 1789.² As the ceremonies in commemoration of his death appear to have escaped the attention of the historians of the College, it may not be uninteresting to bring together some facts in regard to them.

In February, 1800, the following notice appeared in Boston newspapers:

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

Cambridge, Feb. 10, 1800.

THE President, Professors and Tutors, some time since, determined that public notice should be taken by the University of the great and affecting loss sustained by the citizens of the United States, in the death of the late excellent General WASHINGTON. They appointed parts to be performed, without fixing upon the day of performance. They have now determined upon

FRIDAY, the 21st inst.

The Procession will be formed at 10 o'clock, forenoon, to move from the Philosophy Chamber to the Meeting-house. Clergymen and other Gentlemen of liberal education, who may attend upon this mournful occasion, are invited to join the Procession.

JOSEPH WILLARD, *President.*³

¹ See pp. 110, 111, above.

² Through an inadvertence or a misprint, Quincy (*History of Harvard University*, ii. 394) gives the date as 1790, and this error has been repeated in various books. The address, dated October 27, 1789, is printed, together with Washington's reply, in Eliot's *Sketch of the History of Harvard College*, pp. 150-152.

³ *Massachusetts Mercury*, February 18, 1800, p. 3/2; *Columbian Centinel*, February 19, p. 3/2.

The Massachusetts Mercury of February 21 contained this notice:

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The solemn performances this day at *Cambridge*, will, we venture to predict, bountifully reward attention. We have not learnt the particulars of the exercises; but are informed, Mr. ALSTON has prepared a Poem, and Mr. WATSON an Oration for the occasion, and that Dr. TAPPAN will deliver an appropriate Discourse (2/3).

The exercises were printed by the College in two editions — a quarto and an octavo. The title of the quarto reads:

An | Address | in Latin, | by Joseph Willard, S.T.D. L.L.D. | President; | and a | Discourse | in English, | by David Tappan, S.T.D. | Hollis Professor of Divinity; | delivered before the | University in Cambridge, | Feb. 21, 1800. | In solemn commemoration | of | Gen. George Washington. | [Rule] | [Cut] | [Rule] | E. Typis | Samuel Etheridge. | [Rule] | M,DCCC.

This edition consists of Title, 1 leaf; Proceedings of Cambridge University, 1 leaf; *Concio a Præside*, pages 5–8; A Discourse, &c., pages 9–31, the verso of page 31 being blank.¹

The title of the octavo reads:

An | Address | in Latin, | by Joseph Willard, S.T.D. L.L.D. | President; | and a | Discourse | in English, | by David Tappan. S.T.D. | Hollis Professor of Divinity; | delivered before the University | in Cambridge, | Feb. 21, 1800. | In solemn commemoration | of | General George Washington. | [Rule] | [Cut] | [Rule] | E. Typis. | Samuel Etheridge. | [Rule] | M,DCCC.

This edition consists of Title, 1 leaf; Proceedings of Cambridge University, 2 pages; *Concio Brevis a Præside*, pages 5–10; A Discourse, &c., pages 11–44.²

¹ The Boston Athenæum owns a copy of this edition in its original dark blue paper cover, having on a fly-leaf this inscription:

The Hon'ble Bushrod Washington Esq.
from his respectful &
humble servant
Jed^h Morse

² The Boston Athenæum owns a copy of this edition in its original light blue paper cover.

The second leaf of the quarto edition follows

**PROCEEDINGS
OF
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.**

AT a meeting of the PRESIDENT, PROFESSORS, and TUTORS
of HARVARD COLLEGE, Dec. 28, 1799.

THE immediate Government of the UNIVERSITY, thoroughly penetrated by that affecting event, which has so deeply impressed the public mind; and viewing it, as a proper and due acknowledgment to the Great "Author of every good and perfect gift," to take a respectful and pious notice of the recall of distinguished characters, for important purposes lent to Earth; desirous also of joining with all good Societies of men in lamenting the loss, which the Republic of letters as well, as our common Country has sustained; and wishing in particular that the UNIVERSITY in CAMBRIDGE, which, in consequence of her being situated in the first scene of the American war, first shared the protection, may not appear forgetful of the Savior of her Country and the Patron of Science;

VOTED, that the following exercises, being introduced and concluded with prayer adapted to the mournful occasion, and intermixed with sacred music, instrumental and vocal, be publicly performed in pious commemoration of the *singular talents, eminent virtues, and unparalleled services* of WASHINGTON THE GOOD.

An *INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS* in Latin by the *PRESIDENT*.

An *ELEGIAC POEM* in English by WASHINGTON ALLSTON, a *Senior Sophister.**

A *FUNERAL ORATION* by BENJAMIN MARSTON WATSON, a *Senior Sophister.**

A *SOLEMN AND PATHETIC DISCOURSE* by the HOLLIS PROFESSOR of DIVINITY.

* * These two young Gentlemen modestly declined giving copies of their performances for the press.

In the Massachusetts Mercury of February 25 it was stated that "The performances at Harvard University on Friday last, to evince the respect of the Officers and students at that Seminary for the memory of Gen. WASHINGTON, were such as excited the admiration

of a very discerning audience" (p. 2/3). A fuller and more interesting account is found in the Columbian Centinel of March 1 (pp. 1-2):

Day of National Grief.

From the innumerable solemn Testimonials, in honor of the Sainted WASHINGTON, we continue the following instances.

At the University at Cambridge.

AGREEABLY to the appointment of the government of *Harvard College*, Friday the 21st. ult. was set aside for the purpose of publicly testifying their respect and veneration for the character of WASHINGTON; and their unaffected grief at the great loss which our country has sustained in his death. On this occasion, every external formality, which may serve as an index to the feelings of the heart, was displayed with judgement and taste. A handsome procession at 11 o'clock moved from the Philosophy Chamber to the meeting house. Appropriate music introduced the performances, which succeeded in the following manner.

1st. An introductory discourse in latin, by the President of the University. The venerable old man, bowed down with infirmity and disease, could not permit the present opportunity of publicly expressing his sentiments to pass unnoticed, though prudence and a regard to his own health strongly dictated the measure.

2d. An Elegiac Poem, by Mr. ALLSTON. In this production were combined the strictness of truth, with embellishments of fancy; rich in sentiments of the most delicate texture, and clad in language pure as the ideas it conveyed; it formed a striking contrast to the *frothy* productions of the age, which, like the air bubble, owe their lustre and coloring to the scarcity of matter.

3d. An Oration by Mr. WATSON. This was a striking copy of the great original. The character of WASHINGTON was portrayed with strength. Classic learning, and judicious observations, pervaded the performance.

4th. A Discourse by Dr. TAPPAN — the scriptural motto, "*I have said ye are gods: but ye shall die like men.*" In the discourse the professor seemed to have written with a spirit worthy of his subject; and to have poured out all the enthusiasm of a heart, glowing with the love and admiration of the character he represented. It was distinguished by great strength and soundness of remark, force of imagination and fer-

vent piety. It exhibited the splendor of eloquence without the glare of false ornament, and profound investigation without the coldness of abstraction. Though discursive, it was not redundant; and though crowded with panegyric, gave discriminating praise. In a manner just and clear, peculiar and original, it shewed the connection between the principles of WASHINGTON and his actions; the lustre thrown upon his greatness by his goodness; and the efficacy of the Christian spirit in forming the character of the Hero, Sage and Patriot. With an authoritative energy, it inculcated the lessons taught by the life and death of the Father of his country, and with persuasive earnestness called our attention to the hand of Providence in his services, his fortunes and his decease.

In short, all the performances of the day, equalled the most sanguine expectations. Much was expected, and much was received. WASHINGTON, while alive, was ever the subject of eulogy among the patriotic sons of that literary institution. Poetry and prose have lent their mutual aid, to spread abroad the orthodox policy of our Hero and Statesman; and exemplify his precepts in every act of his life; — and where the plain and simple statement of the latter were insufficient to convert the political infidel, the charms and fictions of the former were employed, first to interest, then to convince. At his death, their sorrow was proportionate to the enthusiasm with which they contemplated him, when alive.

SPECTATOR.

Allston and Watson, as the pamphlet states, "modestly declined giving copies of their performances for the press." A classmate — Leonard Jarvis — long afterwards wrote this account:

During Allston's college life he was appointed to deliver a poem at the autumnal exhibition of our senior year, which was received with great applause, and during the following winter he was called upon to deliver a poem upon the death of Washington at the University commemoration of that melancholy event. The effect he produced was very great. I have never seen a public speaker whose appearance and gestures were so eminently graceful, and there was a peculiar sweetness and depth and plaintiveness in the tones of his voice. The audience had been cautioned, on account of the solemnity of the occasion, to abstain from the usual tokens of applause, but at several passages they could not be restrained. The murmurs of approbation were evidently involuntary, and the attempt at suppression rendered them still more striking, contrasted as they were with the dead stillness which had generally prevailed, and had manifested unwonted attention on the part of the listeners. The oration

that followed, though well written and creditable to its author, was coldly received, and the consequence was that at the following commencement the government of the University took care to place our friend in the order of exercises so far from the orator of the day as not to suffer the poem to destroy the oration.¹

Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS mentioned a list he had made several years ago of books belonging to John Harvard, in the hand of President Dunster, and expressed the hope that a fuller account of the volumes would be prepared.

Mr. LANE described the Chauncy Papers, belonging to President Chauncy and his sons, recently lent to the College by the widow of William Chauncey Fowler of Connecticut.

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE read an extract from Cotton Mather's Diary relating to a gift to him of forty volumes,² formerly owned by President Chauncy, by a disconsolate widow upon whom Mather had made a call of condolence. The passage, dated 16 October, 1700, reads as follows :

This Day I mett with an odd Experiment! . . .

I was this Afternoon making my *pastoral Visits* unto the Families in my Neighbourhood; . . . And I had immediately, an Impulse upon my mind, That I should quickly see something, to encourage my doing what I do, & to testify that God accepts it. Well; passing along the Street, a sudden inclination took me, to step into an House of a Gentlewoman, who had been a Long time in a disconsolate Widowhood; I

¹ J. B. Flagg's Life and Letters of Washington Allston, pp. 26-27. Jarvis's account is not dated, but presumably it was written after Allston's death in 1843. The following extract is taken from the Massachusetts Mercury of July 18, p. 2/3:

*Exercises of the Candidates for the
Degree of BACHELOR OF ARTS.*

1. A Salutatory Oration in Latin — "Comprehending a Dissertation on the Progress and Improvement of the eighteenth Century." By *Benjamin Marston Watson*. . . . 10. An English Poem upon "Energy of Character." By *Washington Alston*. 11. An English Conference upon "The Characters of Epaminondas, Fabius, Alfred, and Washington." By *David Greene, Leonard Jarvis, Charles Lowell, and James Morse*.

² Some of these volumes are now in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

thought it would be *Pure Religion* to visit her. I did so; And she told mee, That she had a parcel of Books, which once belong'd unto y^e Library of o^r famous Old Mr *Chancey*; and if I would please to Take them, she should count herself highly gratified, in their being so well bestowed. I singled out, about *Forty Books*, & some of them Large Ones, which were now added unto my Library, that has already between two & three Thousand in it, and several of them, will be greatly useful to me, in my Design of writing *Illustrations* upon y^e Divine Oracles. Behold how y^e Lord smiles upon me!

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited a broadside containing a poem on the death of Miss Lucy Calhoon,¹ of Petersham, Massachusetts, on June 11, 1806, by Samuel Dunn of New Salem, and printed by John Howe² of Greenwich. The poem follows.

A P O E M,

On the Death of Miss. LUCY CALHOON, daughter of Mr. SAMUEL and Mrs. LUCY CALHOON, of Petersham, who was kill'd by *Lightening*: June 11, 1806, in the 14th year of her age.

1 ALL you who read, please to attend,
And view the hand of heav'n;
Who doth to us a blessing send,
Or takes what he has giv'n.

¹ The Town Records of Petersham tell us that Samuel Calhoon of Petersham and Lucy Gibbs of New Salem entered their intentions of marriage 18 November, 1788, and that James Calhoon of Petersham (perhaps a brother of Samuel) was published to Susannah Hinds of Greenwich 29 June, 1787. We also find an entry of the death of Lucy Calhoon, the subject of the poem in our text, which gives a different date (11 July, 1806) from that printed by Mr. Dunn. See Vital Records of Petersham, pp. 76, 182.

² John Howe, a small printer living in Greenwich, published for many years an almanac, at first called Howe's Almanac and later Howe's Genuine Almanac, notable for being largely given over to poetry, jingles, and jokes. His Prefaces are dated at "Mont Prospect." In his first issue (1804) he says, "I am a stranger to a great Part of the Public where my Labours are now to appear." The imprint was Greenwich until 1818, when it was changed to Enfield, the adjoining town. The authorship of this Almanac is stated on the title-page to have been John Howe, 1804-1811; Philo Astronomiæ, 1812-1820; J. M. Howe, 1821-1823; and Philo Astronomiæ, 1824. Howe's press was a poor one.

Mr. Clarence S. Brigham has kindly furnished the facts for this note.



Q. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

On the Death of Miss LUCY CALHOON, daughter of
of Penrhian, who was kill'd by Lightning : Jun

- 1 ALL you who read, please to attend,
And view the hand of heav'n ;
Who doth to us a blessing send,
Or takes what he has giv'n.
- 2 Uncertain are all things below,
How swift they pass away ;
Our earthly comforts come and go
And heav'ny laws obey.
- 3 Subject to change, we daily see,
Our natures lie expos'd ;
By an eternal wise decree,
Our scenes of life, are clos'd.
- 4 There is a sov'reign mighty one,
Who first created all ;
By whose command great deeds are done,
By him we stand, or fall.
- 5 Terrible things in righteousness,
He oft doth make appear ;
That man his wonders may confess,
And worship him with fear.
- 6 The stormy winds obey his pow'r,
And by his pow'r and skill ;
The lightnings flash and thunders roar,
To execute his will.
- 7 Those things to men which dearest are,
To him by lot doth fall ;
By him we every blessing share,
To him we owe our all.
- 8 May these reflections be impress'd
Upon each grieved mind ;
Of those bereaved and distract
To form a will, resign'd.
- 9 Please to attend ye parents !
Who by an awful curse
Of late have borne, and lost your sons
A most afflictive curse.
- 10 Your Daughter dead, Aye !
She flumbers in the dust,
No more to you we bring,
But go to her & weep.
- 11 She did not die, but went to heaven,
By some misfortune, or by some affliction,
did send
- 12 Dear youth, she shad
In tender bloomings lay
Sharp Lightnings sickle'd
And left her friends in
- 13 Dark clouds her cur'd
Her dying bed, the sun
No friends lamenting
'Till her pale cor
- 14 Bereaving stroke !
Yet how and where
Remember that affliction
Sent by the hand of
- 15 O, murmur not now
Nor wickedly repine,
But from excessive grief
And calamity her re
- 16 What though the sun
And left this world
The pow'r which gave
Can raise to life ag
- 17 When with your LIL
Your hearts were fit
Which mov'd each ly
Which caus'd the re
- 18 You yet have children
Guide them in wis
And by the statutes o
Teach them to spe
- 19 Show them the vanity
That is below the sun
And may they learn t
That they are born
- 20 Ye heads of families
A word unto the s
A word to you, I ha
and may a word
- 21 Attend unto those li
Committed to you
Who are expos'd to
Expos'd to woful si
- 22 Instruct their minds
Make it to them
that you by wise ca
your hearts to be

E M.

SAMUEL and Mrs. LUCY CALHOON,
1806, in the 11th year of her age.

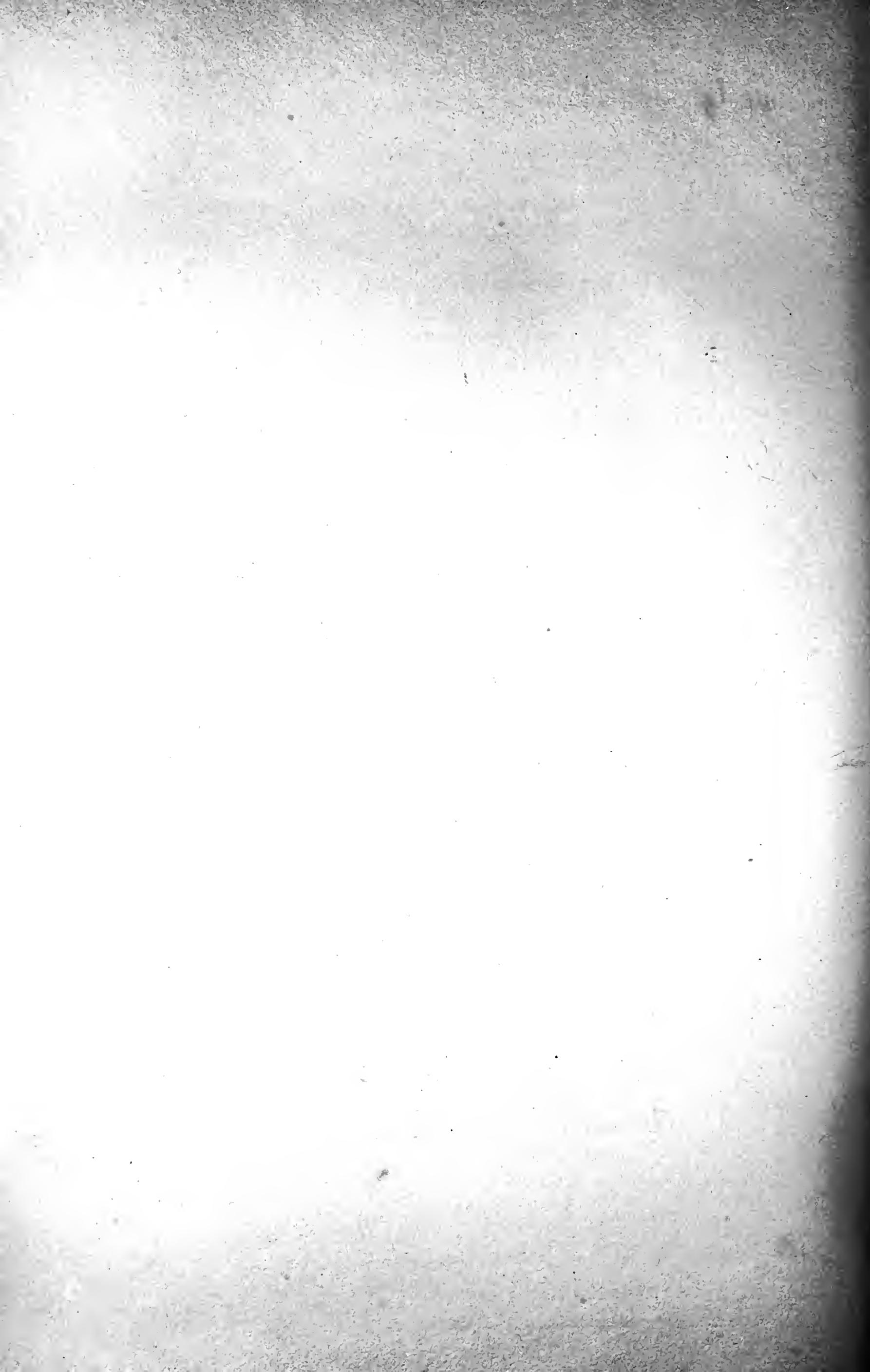
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penn'd,
ocks,
and love,
love.
- 23 Strive to inform their tender hearts,
The way which leads to bliss ;
Excell the vain and simple arts,
Or gay, and gaudy dress.
- 24 And may our Youth, view this event,
Remembering it is true ;
That judgements on them may be sent,
Swift and surprising too.
- 25 It is dear youth, a serious thing,
To fetch a dying groan ;
And have our spirits take the wing,
To worlds, to us, unknown.
- 26 Therefore dear youth, for death prepare,
Leave not that work undone ;
Make that your chief concern and care,
Before your glass is run.
- 27 It is a serious thing to die,
Attend the tolling bell ;
It sounds this lesson, you and I,
Must bid the world farewell.
- 28 When at your glasses drest complete,
You view your faces fair ;
Reflect, by death, a winding-sheet,
May be the next you'll wear.
- 29 Your days are swift, and may be few,
Answer this call—begin ;
To serve the Lord, keep death in view,
And fly from every sin.
- 30 Put youthful vanities away,
Approach the mercy seat ;
Though you are young, fall day by day,
At the Redeemer's feet.
- 31 That when you may be call'd to die,
For leave this world, you must ;
You may ascend to the most high,
And dwell among the just.

New-Salem, July 3, 1806.

SAMUEL DUNN.

John Howe, PRINTER.—Greenwich.

Original for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
Print or reproduced in the possession of the
Historian, Boston Library



- 2 Uncertain are all things below,
How swift they pass away;
Our earthly comforts come and go
And heav'nly laws obey.
- 3 Subject to change, we daily see,
Our natures lie expos'd;
By an eternal, wise decree,
Our scenes of life, are clos'd.
- 4 There is a sov'reign mighty one,
Who first created all;
By whose command great deeds are done,
By him we stand, or fall.
- 5 Terrible things in righteousness,
He oft doth make appear;
That man his wonders may confess,
And worship him with fear.
- 6 The stormy winds obey his pow'r,
And by his pow'r and skill;
The lightnings flash and thunders roar,
To execute his will.
- 7 Those things to men which dearest are,
To him by lot doth fall;
By him we every blessing share,
To him we owe our all.
- 8 May these reflections be imprest,
Upon each grieved mind;
Of those bereaved and distrest.
To form a will, resign'd.
- 9 Please to attend ye parents dear,
Who by an awful stroke;
Of late have borne, and yet do bear,
A most afflictive yoke.

10 Your Daughter dear, alas ! is gone,
She slumbers in the dust;
No more to you, will she return,
But go to her, you must.

11 Swift was her fate, her years are past,
Her days are at an end;
A pow'r supreme, by *firey blast*,
The conqueror, did send.

12 Dear youth, she shar'd a bitter cup,
In tender blooming years;
Sharp *Lightnings* lick'd her spirits up,
And left her friends in tears.

13 Dark clouds her curtains, where she di'd,
Her dying bed, the ground;
No friends lamenting, by her side,
'Till her pale corpse was found.

14 Bereaving stroke ! a child most dear,
Yet bow and kiss the rod;
Remember that afflictions are,
Sent by the hand of GOD.

15 O, murmur not, nor do complain,
Nor wickedly repine;
But from excessive grief refrain,
And calmly her resign.

16 What though she slumbers in the dust,
And left this world of pain;
The pow'r which gave her life at first
Can raise to life again.

17 When with your *LUCY*, you did part.
Your hearts were fill'd with wo;
Which mov'd each sympathizing heart,
Which caus'd the tears to flow.

- 18 You yet have children round your board,
 Guide them in wisdom's ways;
And by the statutes of the Lord,
 Teach them to spend their days.
- 19 Show them the vanity of all,
 That is below the sky;
And may they learn by *Lucy's* fall,
 That they are born, to die.
- 20 Ye heads of families, attend,
 A word unto the wise;
A word to you, I here have penn'd,
 And may a word suffice.
- 21 Attend unto those little flocks,
 Committed to your care;
Who are expos'd to awful shocks,
 Expos'd to woful snares.
- 22 Instruct their minds in truth and love,
 Make it to them appear;
That you by wise examples prove,
 Your hearts to be, sincere.
- 23 Strive to inform their tender hearts,
 The way which leads to bliss;
Excels the vain and simple arts,
 Of gay, and gaudy dress.
- 24 And may our Youth, view this event,
 Rememb'ring it is true;
That judgements on them may be sent,
 Swift and surprising too.
- 25 It is dear youth, a ser'us thing,
 To fetch a dying groan;
And have our spirits take the wing,
 To worlds, to us, unknown.

26 Therfore dear youth, for death prepare,
 Leave not that work undone;
 Make that your chief concern and care,
 Before your glass is run.

27 It is a ser'us thing to die,
 Attend the tolling bell;
 It sounds this lesson, you and I,
 Must bid the world farewell.

28 When at your glasses drest complete,
 You view your faces fair;
 Reflect, by death, a winding-sheet,
 May be the next you'll wear.

29 Your days are swift, and may be few,
 Attend this call — begin;
 To serve the Lord, keep death in view,
 And fly from every sin.

30 Put youthful vanities away,
 Approach the mercy seat;
 Though you are young, fall day by day,
 At the Redeemer's feet.

31 That when you may be call'd to die,
 For leave this world, you must;
 You may asscend to the most high,
 And dwell among the just.

New-Salem, July 8, 1806.

SAMUEL DUNN.¹

John Howe, PRINTER :— Greenwich.

¹ There can be no doubt that Samuel Dunn, the author of this poem, was also the author of another effusion, a copy of which was in the Brinley library and is thus described:

Dunn (Samuel) A Word in Season; or, The Burthen of Samuel, (the son of Richard, the son of Samuel, the son of James the Rhode-Islandite,) which he saw while under the mountain, in the land of Prescott, Mass. in

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE spoke of the writings and influence of George Stirk of the Harvard Class of 1646, who, under various names, attained distinction in England and on the Continent;¹ and exhibited some of his works.

Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON exhibited a photograph of the original petition of the inhabitants of the North of Ireland presented to Governor Shute by the Rev. William Boyd in 1718, and spoke of the Scotch Irish emigration to this country.

the days of James Munroe, President, . . . concerning the Division of Christianity . . . [With] Some Remarks on . . . Free-Masonry, pp. 12, *uncut*, CURIOUS. 12° n. p., n. d. [1825] (Brinley Catalogue, iv. 101, no. 6839.)

The town of Prescott, incorporated in 1822, was formerly the southern part of New Salem. It is a curious fact that while the towns of Petersham, New Salem, Greenwich, and Prescott are contiguous, they lie in three different counties,—Worcester, Franklin, and Hampshire.

As our author is so obliging as to record his pedigree on the above-described title-page, it seems probable that he is the Samuel Dunn, son of Richard and Mary Dunn, who was born in Newport, Rhode Island, 14 July, 1746 (Arnold, Vital Record of Rhode Island, vol. iv. part ii. p. 94. See also p. 34).

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. William P. Greenlaw for the reference to the Brinley title.

¹ Cf. p. 53, above.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1910

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, 21 November, 1910, at six o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death, since the last meeting, of JAMES BOURNE AYER, CHARLES HENRY DAVIS, JOHN LATHROP, and MORTON DEXTER, Resident Members, and of MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, an Honorary Member.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL accepting Resident Membership, from Mr. JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH accepting Corresponding Membership, and from the Hon. ELIHU ROOT accepting Honorary Membership.

On the recommendation of the Council, the name of Mr. FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER was transferred from the Corresponding Roll to the Resident Roll, since he has changed his residence from Wisconsin to Massachusetts.

The Hon. JOHN ADAMS AIKEN of Greenfield, the Rev. Dr. GEORGE FOOT MOORE of Cambridge, and Mr. JOHN WOODBURY of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the Rev. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

Since the last Annual Meeting of the Society there have been held the usual five Stated Meetings, at which a variety of communications have been presented. The attendance has suffered somewhat from the fact that the weather conditions upon these five days have not always been of the sort that members of the Society apparently feel they have a right to expect. The April meeting was held in the Treasure Room of Harvard College Library, by invitation of our associate Mr. William Coolidge Lane, and was of exceptional interest. The other four meetings were held in the building of the American Unitarian Association, whose hospitality has been most generously continued to us, and most gratefully acknowledged.

The Society has suffered heavily during the year through the death of some of its most illustrious members. From our list of Resident Members these honored names have been stricken:

JAMES BARR AMES, Dean of the Harvard Law School, who held the entire respect and fervent affection of his associates and pupils; who by developing the art of legal instruction had elevated the standards of his profession and had helped to place it upon its present exalted plane.

MORRIS HICKY MORGAN, Professor of Classical Philology in Harvard University, author, lexicographer, translator, and editor of classical writings, an eager scholar, a vigorous and candid man.

JAMES BOURNE AYER, physician and public servant, who according to his power served his city in the thankless capacity of Overseer of the Poor, and the Commonwealth as member of the State Board of Insanity, and whose quiet life was rich in friendship, helpfulness, and encouragement to all good things.

CHARLES HENRY DAVIS, who, though living in retirement and handicapped by ill-health, abated nothing of his lively interest in our Commonwealth, both as to her past history and her present well-being; and who gave largely of his means for the support and furtherance of her public-spirited enterprises.

JOHN LATHROP, Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massa-

chusetts, a man of Puritan standards and ideals, whose great popularity both professional and personal was based upon honest ability, worth, and probity of character.

MORTON DEXTER, clergyman and writer, at one time editor of the Congregationalist, whose most valuable service consisted in his researches into the history of the Pilgrim Fathers, in England, Holland, and America.

From among our Honorary Members:

MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who for twenty-two years had faithfully and honorably filled the most important office in our National Government; genuinely beloved by his associates, manifesting in his daily speech and actions the simple dignity of real greatness.

And from our Corresponding Members:

GEORGE PARK FISHER, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Dean of the Yale Divinity School, perhaps the most prominent representative and champion of our latter-day Congregationalism, a ripe and candid scholar, a gentle and unassuming man.

The new members elected to the Society during the year are as follows. Resident Members —

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL,
EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE,
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE,
EZRA HENRY BAKER,
JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL;

Corresponding Member —

JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH;

Honorary Member —

ELIHU ROOT.

Two new volumes of the Society's Publications have been distributed among the members. These are: Volume IV, containing "Papers relating to the Land-bank of 1740," prepared by Andrew McFarland Davis, "Bibliography of the Massachusetts House Journals, 1715-1776," prepared by Worthington Chauncey Ford, "Bibliography of the Laws of the Massachusetts Bay, 1641-1776," prepared by Mr. Ford and the Editor; and Volume XI, containing

the Society's Transactions for 1906-1907. In addition to these, Volume XII, containing the Society's Transactions for 1908-1909, is all electrotyped, and awaits only the final preparation of the index before going to press. This volume will probably be distributed early in the coming year. The Transactions of the current year are in electrotyped form to date, and will constitute a portion of Volume XIII.

Of the two volumes actually issued during the past year, Volume XI was published at the charge of the Edward Wheelwright Fund. The publication of Volume IV was made possible by the generosity of one of our associates.

In this connection the Council takes great pleasure in reporting that through the generosity of Mr. George Vasmer Leverett, the publication of Volume II, which is to be devoted to the Royal Commissions, is assured. This volume will appear as soon as possible.

In addition to these two gifts, the Society is the recipient of substantial gifts of money from Mr. Thomas Minns, Mr. Horace Everett Ware, and Mr. Thomas Willing Balch, a Corresponding Member. And it is with a distinct sense of relief that the Council makes announcement that through the liberality of these six gentlemen, —

CHARLES GODDARD WELD,
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT,
GEORGE NIXON BLACK,
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY,
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM,
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,

the salary of the Editor has been promised for another period of five years, and his valuable services to the Society are for that length of time assured. At the same time it is a matter of keen regret that the services of our Editor are secured upon nothing firmer than this temporary, hand-to-mouth basis. An Editor's Salary Fund is perhaps the first need of the Society. Such a fund should be not less than \$25,000.

There are of course other needs almost as urgent; and they are growing more and more urgent as the Society gradually increases its field of recognition, and its scope of usefulness. The fact that our

fecundity in the matter of publications is seriously curtailed by the utter inadequacy of the present Publication Funds is to be heartily deplored. These funds, consisting now of about \$50,000, are just about one-half as large as they should be. And the further fact that we are as yet a homeless body, having not where to lay our head, but dependent upon the indulgence of friends for a place of meeting, for a place for the safe-keeping of our growing library and cabinet, is one which we are bound to contemplate with increasing impatience.

In the conviction that the Society has a profitable service to render, and that its value will increase in a proportion equal, so to speak, to the square of its facilities, your Council begs to remind you again of these our necessities, in the hope that in one way or another, by gift or by bequest, the doors to our true opportunity will one by one be opened unto us, and our Society will be enabled to take the stand and assume the functions that properly belong to it.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 15 November, 1910.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 15 November, 1909	\$918.67
Admission Fees	\$50.00
Annual Assessments	600.00
Commutation of the Annual Assessment	100.00
Sales of the Society's Publications	158.30
Sales of the Society's paper	7.69
Contributions from two friends	429.25
Interest	2,709.25
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	1,400.00
Publication Fund, gifts from three members	350.00
Mortgage assigned	500.00
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank, withdrawn	20.00
	\$6,324.49
	<hr/>
	\$7,243.16
	<hr/>

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press, printing	\$2,539.77
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure plates, negatives, and plate printing	420.13
Clerk hire	70.70
Postage, stationery, and supplies	81.84
Boston Storage Warehouse Co.	24.00
William H. Hart, auditing	5.00
Phillips's Back Bay Express, distributing Publications . .	67.00
Albert Matthews, salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00
Mary H. Rollins, indexing	100.00
Edna L. Stone, copying De Berdt Letter Book	30.00
Carnegie Institution, subscription for 1909 towards Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00
Miscellaneous incidentals	377.50
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	1,400.00
Interest in adjustment	5.93
Deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	315.00
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 15 November, 1910	<u>\$6,486.87</u>
	756.29
	<u>\$7,243.16</u>

The funds of the Society are invested as follows:

\$54,100.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Boston, Cambridge, and Brookline.
300.00 deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank.
\$54,400.00

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash	\$756.29
Mortgages	\$54,100.00
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	<u>300.00</u>
	<u>54,400.00</u>
	<u>\$55,156.29</u>

CREDITS

Income	\$756.29
Editor's Salary Fund	\$400.00
Publication Fund	5,000.00
General Fund	9,000.00
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund	10,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund	3,000.00
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	<u>2,000.00</u>
	<u>54,400.00</u>
	<u>\$55,156.29</u>

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer

BOSTON, 15 November, 1910.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts for the year ending 15 November, 1910, have attended to that duty and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us. This examination is based on the Report of William H. Hart, Auditor.

HAROLD MURDOCK,

EZRA H. BAKER,

Committee

BOSTON, 18 November, 1910.

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Mr. GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE presented the following list of candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT

HENRY LEFAVOUR

VICE-PRESIDENTS

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON

RECORDING SECRETARY

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER

HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

SIR MATTHEW AND LADY HOLWORTHY

In the early records of Harvard College there are three entries relating to a bequest from Sir Matthew Holworthy of £1000 — the largest gift received by the College until well into the eighteenth century. The first is as follows:

Octob. 8th 79

A clause in y^e will of S^r Matthew Holworthy Item: I give, and bequeath unto y^e Colledg, or University, in, or of Cambridg, in New-England, the summe of one thousand pounds, to bee payd, and made over, to the governours, and directors thereof, to bee disposed of, by them, as they shall judg best for y^e promoting of learning, and promulgation of y^e gospell in those parts, the same to bee payd, within two years, next coming after my decease

hee dyed in october 78 and left M^r Henly and his lady executors.¹

The second is this:

At a Corporation Meeting at Cambridge Oct. 8th 1679

2. The Treasurer M^r John Richards was empowred, to take care of the donation of S^r Matthew Holworthy, and to gett it over into the country by exchange or otherwaies, as he shall see meet, as soone as may bee.²

The third follows:

Sundry Donations to the Colledge received by Cap^t John Richards Trea^r

1681 By S^r Matthew Holworthyes legacy 1234 02 06³

The name of Holworthy, though held in honor, was not attached to any building until 1812, when it was given to the new dormitory then erected. At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College held on August 14, 1812, it was —

Voted, That the new College be called Holworthy Hall in honor to the memory of Sir Matthew Holworthy, deceased, one of the earliest and most generous benefactors of the College, and that the President announce the same at the next public Exhibition.⁴

¹ College Book, i. 55.

² i. 82. This sum is expressed in New England currency.

³ iii. 60.

⁴ College Records, x. 131. For this extract I am indebted to Mr. Lane.

Accordingly, at the "Annunciation into Holworthy Hall August 18th 1812," President Kirkland spoke as follows:

In compliance with the vote of the Corporation I take the occasion to congratulate the friends, patrons and members of the College on the erection of a new Hall or College for the habitation of Students and to announce the name, which it has been thought proper it should receive. We have no doubt that you observe with great pleasure another commodious and ornamental Edifice added to our establishment. We acknowledge the goodwill of the Legislature which empowered the Corporation to receive the funds for the expensive design and have been happy in the attention, credit and respectability of the Gentlemen who have undertaken to secure to us the benefit of the legislative grant and enable us to accomplish the object without any encroachment on the stated funds of the Institution.

As the precise meaning of the last sentence is far from obvious, let us break into President Kirkland's remarks with an explanation. The allusion is to a lottery. If we may judge by a section in "An Act for the suppressing of Lotteries," passed in 1719, public opinion in Massachusetts was at that time opposed to lotteries. "WHEREAS," we read, "there have lately been set up within this province certain mischievous and unlawful games, called lotteries, . . . *Be it enacted* . . . That all such lotteries, and all other lotteries are common and publick nusances."¹ As this Act was "not found sufficient to put an end to that practice," in 1733 "An Act in addition to an Act entitled 'An Act for the suppressing of Lotteries'" was passed; and in this it was stated "That this act shall not be construed to extend to any lottery allowed by act of parliament, or law of this province."² Apparently the first lottery authorized by the Massachusetts Legislature was in 1745, when "An Act for raising, by a Lottery, the Sum of Seven Thousand Five Hundred Pounds, for the Service of this Province in the present Year" was passed.³ In 1765 "An Act for raising by Lottery the Sum of Three Thousand Two Hundred Pounds, for building another Hall for the Students of Harvard College to dwell in" was passed; but, since it proved insufficient, "An Act to amend and carry [it] into execution" was passed in 1772.⁴ Neither

¹ Massachusetts Province Laws, ii. 149. ² ii. 663. ³ iii. 195.

⁴ iv. 834, v. 212. The passage of the Act of 1765 on June 24 was noted in the Boston Gazette of July 1, 1765, p. 3/2; but apparently the lottery did not reach the advertising stage.

Act was successful in accomplishing its purpose. But with the proceeds of a lottery authorized in 1794 by "An Act for raising the Sum of Eight Thousand Pounds, for the purpose of erecting a Building for the use of the University at Cambridge,"¹ the present Stoughton Hall was built. On March 14, 1806, "An Act for raising the Sum of Thirty Thousand Dollars, for the Use of the University at Cambridge" was passed,² and it was to this Act that President Kirkland alluded. The advertisements of these lotteries found in the newspapers are often interesting, and sometimes amusing.

The following is taken from a Boston paper of 1772:

IT must afford a very sensible Pleasure to every Well-wisher to Learning in general, and to the Seminary in *Cambridge* in particular, when any Encouragement is given to hope for it's Prosperity: And all of this Character will be ready to improve every Opportunity to promote so good a Cause. Such an one is now offered to the Public in the following

LOTTERY

Granted by the General Assembly of the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, for the Purpose of raising £3200 L. Money,³ towards building a New-Hall at *Cambridge*, for the better Accomodation of the Students. . . .

HARVARD COLLEGE LOTTERY

consists of 10,000 Tickets at Six Dollars each, of which 3337 are Prizes of the following Value, *viz.*⁴ . . .

The following appeared in a Boston paper in 1795:

NOW OR NEVER!!

☞ SO great is the demand for Tickets in the 2d Class of Harvard College Lottery, that it has become doubtful whether there will be any to dispose of, for several days previous to the 9th of April next, on which day the Lottery is *positively* to commence drawing. The spirit which animated the *first settlers* of this country, to promote useful knowledge, has, if possible, encreased with the *present generations*; and this is the evidence, That there is scarcely a single one in the community,

¹ Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (1789), ii. 405.

² Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (1807), iii. 361.

³ Lawful money.

⁴ Boston Gazette, July 13, 1772, p. 1/1. The advertisement was repeated in the issue of August 10, p. 4/1.

either male or female, who is not more or less interested in the *College Lottery*.

The lisping babe cries, papa care for me,
Pray buy a TICKET — and in time you 'll see,
The pleasing benefit thy son will find,
In *Learning* faithfully to serve mankind.¹

Early in 1807 the following was printed in a Boston paper:

Revolutions of the Planets compared — The earth requires twenty-four hours to perform a revolution on its axis — To those who are not in the habit of studying Astronomy, the difference between this motion and that of another planet, must be a subject of interesting speculation. The Planet *Harvard College Lottery Wheels* turns completely on its axis in about sixteen seconds of time. An *Interesting Speculation* for Adventurers, who wish to be within the orbit of a planet so influential on the affairs of this world. More of these Astronomical Phenomena will be explained at GILBERT & DEAN's Observatory, No 78, State-street.²

¹ Columbian Centinel, March 18, 1795, p. 3/1. In the Harvard College Library there is a broadside dated "BOSTON, OCTOBER 22, 1795," which begins as follows:

Harvard College Lottery.

THE MANAGERS of *Harvard College Lottery*, present the Public with a SCHEME of the Fourth Class of said LOTTERY, which will commence Drawing on, or before the first THURSDAY in April next, in the *Representatives'* Chamber in Boston.

The strict punctuality which the Managers have hitherto observed, as to the time fixed for Drawing, and in the payment of the Prizes — They flatter themselves, has so established the Credit of the Lottery — that the Tickets will meet with a rapid Sale, both in this, and the neighbouring States.

S C H E M E
of the 4th Class Harvard College Lottery,
Not two Blanks to a Prize.

² Columbian Centinel, February 7, 1807, p. 2/3. In the College Library there is a pamphlet containing twelve unnumbered leaves, the gift of Mr. Charles P. Greenough on November 4, 1868. The title reads:

A | List of Prizes | and | Fortunate Numbers, | in the First Class of | Harvard College Lottery, | which commenced drawing in Boston, Jan. 22, 1807, | and was completed Feb. 24, 1807. | The Numbers without Figures against them are | Prizes of Seven Dollars. | Boston: | Printed by Oliver & Munroe, | No. 78, State-Street.

At the bottom of the verso of the eleventh leaf is this statement: "The Managers expect all Prize Tickets to be endorsed by the person to whom they are

In 1812 a long advertisement was published in the Boston papers and was also issued in a broadside.¹ It reads in part as follows:



INTERESTING

All the Avenues to Wealth not yet Stopped!

GRAND HARVARD COLLEGE LOTTERY, 7th, and probable the *Last Class*, positively commences Drawing 23d of September next, in *Boston*.

S C H E M E

1	PRIZE	of	20,000	Dollars.
1	do	of	3 000	do
6	do	of	1 000	do
10	do	of	500	do
80	do	of	100	do
100	do	of	50	do
110	do	of	20	do
280	do	of	10	do
7417	do	of	7	do

paid." Attached to the second leaf is a lottery ticket of the Fifth Class, No. 9997, dated "Boston, FEBRUARY, 1811," the gift of the late J. Wingate Thornton on September 19, 1864. This ticket has on the back the following endorsement:

Pay seven dollars, to W. & T. Kidder
or their order, & to none other —
15. Sept. 1811 S. Greenleaf

And this again, across the centre of the back, is endorsed "W & T K"

The last leaf of this pamphlet contains an advertisement of the Second Class, dated February 24, 1807, and an advertisement of Gilbert & Dean's "Lottery and Exchange Office."

There is in the Boston Athenæum a pamphlet containing twelve unnumbered leaves, entitled —

A | List of Prizes, | and | Fortunate Numbers, | in the Fifth Class | of | Harvard College Lottery, | which commenced drawing in Boston, June 19, 1811, | and was completed July 26, 1811. | The Numbers without Figures against them are | Prizes of Seven Dollars. | Boston: | Printed by Russell and Cutler. | 1811.

This has manuscript notes, doubtless written either by the Treasurer of Harvard College or by one of the managers of the lottery, and on the title-page is written in ink "For the Treaser," who at that time was John Davis. From this List of Prizes it appears that ticket No. 9997, mentioned above, drew seven dollars. The last page of this pamphlet contains an advertisement of the Sixth Class.

¹ There is a copy of this broadside, dated "Boston, July 9th, 1812," in the Boston Public Library. Attached to it is a lottery ticket of the Seventh Class, No. 14637, dated "BOSTON, FEB. 1812."

All Cash Prizes, and free from deduction — not two blanks to a prize; present and original price of Tickets, \$5 each — Quarters, 1 37, but rise to 5 50, whole, and 1 50 Quarters, on the 14th day of September next. No Lottery in the United States stands higher in credit than this and may (as it is) justly be called the *Public's Favorite*; the Prizes are always punctually paid, and the Lottery conducted on the fairest principle of honor.

 The TICKETS and QUARTERS, of this excellent Lottery, may be had in a variety of numbers, and are now selling rapidly at the *Prize Selling & Truly Fortunate Lottery Office*, of

 T. KIDDER,

No. 9 MARKET-SQUARE,

Whose success in selling CAPITAL PRIZES, increases in every Lottery drawn. . . .

The pursuit of mankind in general is Wealth, and the prudent part endeavour to obtain it the most easy way — at the least risk, and in the shortest time — here then an *Independent Fortune*, or enough to live on comfortably for life, may be obtained in a few months, by risking only 5 dls. or \$1 37 at KIDDER'S, who will, doubtless, (as usual) sell a great part of the large and other prizes of the above lottery; who then will so far forget his own interest (especially when he considers how *hard to get*, and *extreme scarce MONEY* is at the present time) as to neglect so favorable an opportunity.¹ . . .

The two following advertisements are also taken from a Boston paper:

* * * HARVARD COLLEGE LOTTERY seems now to be the principal and (almost) only resort of persons in search of fortunes, as offering the best means of success; the present Scheme (which draws 23d next month) offers inducements too powerful to be resisted, the highest prize being *Twenty Thousand Dollars*, with a large number of Three Thousand, One Thousand, Five Hundred, Hundreds, &c. All cash prizes, and free from deduction; not two blanks to one prize, and tickets only 5 dollars each, quarters 1 dol. 37 cents. As KIDDER'S Lottery-Office, No. 9, Market-Square, is known to be the most fortunate in selling Prizes and Fortunes, it is daily filled with purchasers of Tickets in this excellent Lottery, where they may be had day and evening, in a variety of numbers, at the above low price til they rise — Distant orders faithfully attended to.²

¹ Columbian Centinel, July 18, 1812, p. 4/1.

² Columbian Centinel, August, 19, 1812, p. 2/4.

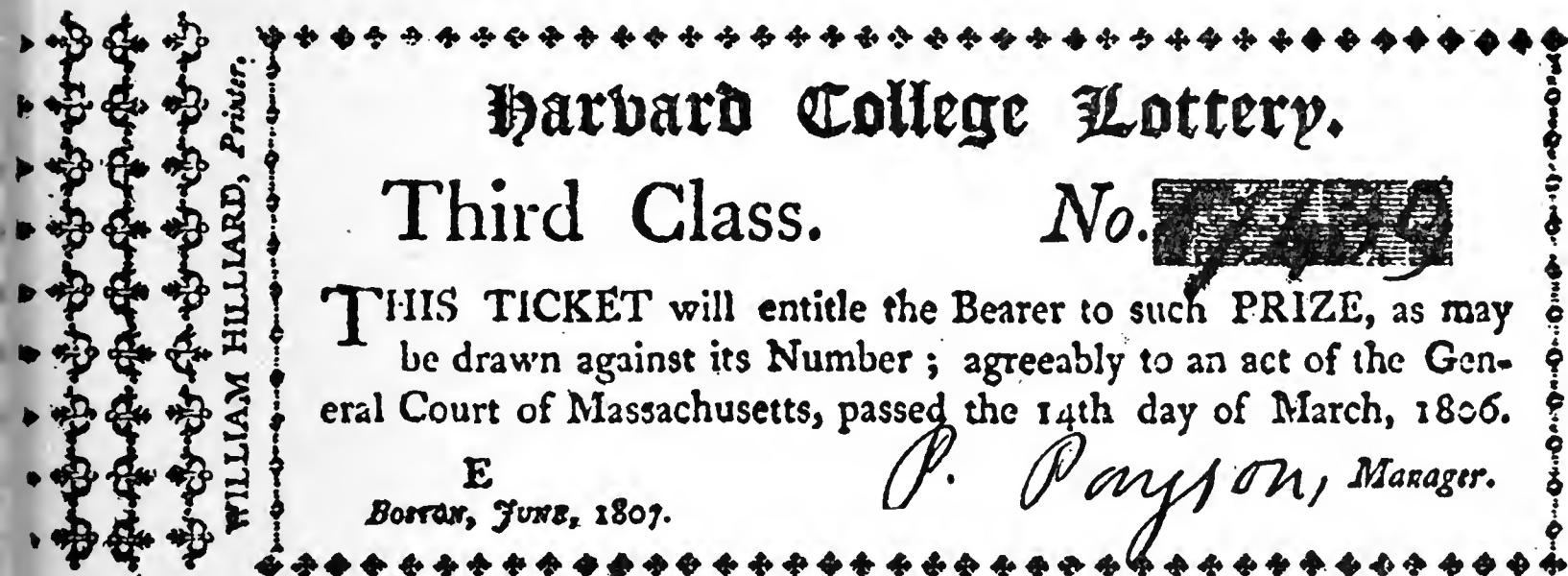
 T. KIDDER,

GRATEFUL for the very liberal patronage he has for many years past received from a generous public, intends for the accommodation of his numerous customers and the public generally, publishing regularly in the *Centinel* and *Chronicle*, complete lists of all the Prizes as they are drawn in the *Harvard College Lottery*, now drawing in this Town.

 T. KIDDER's 

List of all the Prizes drawn thus far in the 7th Class Harvard College Lottery: . . .¹

There have been preserved several Harvard College lottery tickets,² one of which, now in the College Library, is here reproduced:



To return from this digression on lotteries to the ceremonies that took place on August 18, 1812, President Kirkland concluded his remarks as follows:

The completion of the work within little more than a year from the commencement of preparation, the plan and the execution, the elegant simplicity and pleasing appearance of the building evince our obligations to the Committee of Superintendance; and we mention with great satisfaction the praise due to the builders for the neatness and fidelity of their

¹ *Columbian Sentinel*, October 3, 1812, p. 3/1.

² Besides the one reproduced in the text, the College Library has four other tickets of the Third Class, Nos. 17417, 17432, 17436, 17437; and two quarter tickets of the Second Class, unnumbered. These last two were the gift of Dr. Samuel A. Green. There are also four tickets of the Third Class hanging in the hall of the Harvard Club of New York City.

The number was not printed on a ticket, but was inserted in ink, presumably by one of the managers.

work, and the activity and perseverance which they have manifested in bringing it so near to a conclusion. We desire to notice the favour of Providence in the exemption of all the persons employed from any unfortunate accident. In selecting a Name, it was thought desirable to associate with the Structure the memory of some distinguished Benefactor, whose name might not have been connected with any part of the University establishment; "Antiquam exquirite matrem." This designation is eminently applicable to Sir Matthew Holworthy of Great Britain, one of the earliest and most generous patrons of our Society. He died in 1678, leaving a bequest to the general objects of the College exceeding that of any individual from the foundation to the time of Mr. Hollis, larger than that of Mr. Harvard; and a Sum which if given now in proportion to the scale of estimating property would go far towards erecting the present building. We have little information of the History or Character of this Gentleman. We have evidence that he was one of the generous spirits who are interested in human nature and human happiness wherever found. He extended his solicitude to our Society, then obscure and little considered by the world and capable of adding little to the reputation of its benefactors, and contributed a Bounty which did much to rear it to a manly strength.

It is a suitable act of Justice, and expression of Gratitude to commemorate our friend and father's friend; to endeavour to expiate the neglect which may be thought chargeable upon our predecessors towards the memory of an early supporter, by joining his name to this comely edifice. May Holworthy College contain successive bands of Youths, who shall know how to prize and improve the advantages which the wise and good of distant periods and regions have successively augmented, who shall be examples of the happy influence of goodly discipline, who shall form friendships with each other, cemented by virtue, and make acquisitions in science and literature consecrated by piety and applied under the guidance of the best principles and go forth into the world, the excellency of our strength and the joy of our glory.¹

¹ College Records, x. 133-134. For this extract I am indebted to Mr. Lane. Room No. 12 in Holworthy Hall contains an interesting transmittendum. When the late King Edward, then Prince of Wales, visited Cambridge in 1860, and when the Grand Duke Alexis went there in 1871, both were shown No. 12 by the College authorities, and each left in the room his photograph. These photographs were in the room in 1875 (Harvard Book, i. 83 note). Mr. H. Chessman Kittredge, one of the present occupants of No 12, informs me that the photograph of the Prince of Wales is still hanging in the room, though that of the Grand Duke Alexis is no longer there, having apparently disappeared many years ago.

In 1840 Quincy wrote:

After considerable research, little has been discovered concerning the life and fortunes of Sir Matthew Holworthy. It is ascertained, that he was a merchant of Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, that he was knighted by Charles the Second in 1665, possessed great wealth, was distinguished for charity and piety, and that he died in 1678.¹

This meagre information can now be added to, thanks to the kindness of Mr. Frederic Matthew Richard Holworthy — formerly of Bromley, now of Bickley, Kent — a descendant of Sir Matthew, whose success in obtaining material is only equalled by his generosity in placing it at my disposal. The first of the name of whom we have authentic information is John Holworthy of Langdon, Somerset, whose will was dated December 31, 1562, and proved July 24, 1566.²

This John Holworthy left six children — Robert,³ Philip, John, Helen, Christian, and Agnes.

John Holworthy, the second of the name, was of Bridgewater and alderman of Bristol, and was twice married, letters of administration being granted to his second wife, Grace, on February 9, 1602. By his first wife, whose name is unknown, he had two children — Richard and Hellenice; and by his second wife, Grace, four children — Nicholas, Margaret, James, and Elizabeth.

Richard Holworthy, son of the second John, married (1) on August 30, 1607, Mary, daughter of Matthew Haviland, mayor of Bristol in 1607; and (2) Mary, daughter of Thomas Fownes of Plymouth, Devonshire. By his first wife he had Matthew, Richard, John (who married Anne Proby), Mary (who married — Maddock), Prudence (who married James Crofts), Ann (who married James Launce), and a daughter (who married — Cam); and

¹ History of Harvard University, i. 183.

² This will is printed on pages 175–176, below.

³ This Robert, whose will was dated August 8, 1600, and proved January 13, 1601, is the only Robert Holworthy that appears in the Holworthy pedigree sent me by Mr. Holworthy. It is interesting to note, however, that "A List of Names of the Passengers on board the Ship Arabella Richard Sprague Master for New England, May y^e 27th, 1671," contains that of "Robert Halworthy" (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 407). Who this Robert Holworthy was is not known.

by his second wife (who died July 31, 1677), Thomas, Joseph, Nathaniel, Samuel, and Sarah.

The above-named Matthew was our Harvard benefactor. His brother Richard married, on February 16, 1652, Mary, daughter of Sir George Strode, and had at least four children — George, Rebecca, John (who matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, July 19, 1679), and Ann. Sir Matthew's brother John married in 1635 Anne, daughter of Henry Proby of Bristol, and had two children — John, who on June 19, 1697, married in Westminster Abbey Lady Judith Barkham, daughter of Sir John Halsey, Knight, and widow of Sir William Barkham, Baronet, and Anne, who died unmarried in 1732.

Turning from these dry genealogical details, let us see what information can be culled about some of these persons. Richard Holworthy, the father of Sir Matthew, was a merchant of Bristol. In 1621, while sheriff, he was chosen a member of the Soapmakers' Company; was mayor from September, 1634, to September, 1635; and was alderman in 1637.¹ Under date of June 25, 1623, there is an allusion to him in the State Papers, as follows:

Petition of Rich. Holworthy, of Bristol, merchant, to the Council, for restoration of calf skins and Irish tallow, captured from a ship of his by Capt. Nutt, an English pirate, carried into Dartmouth, and delivered up to Sir John Eliot, Vice Admiral.²

This episode of Captain John Nutt casts a curious side-light on the times. Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, wrote on June 12 to the celebrated Sir John Eliot, then Vice-Admiral of Devon, that "Capt. Nutt, a pirate, who much infests the Irish and western coasts, has a retreat at Torbay." Two days earlier a writer declared that Nutt "has surprised a Colchester ship, laden with sugar and woad to the value of 4,000 *l*, while treating for his pardon, which he has obtained, and boasts of its large extent, wearing the very clothes of the men whom he has plundered." On June 16 Eliot wrote that, "despairing to take the pirate Nutt by force," he had "allured him, by a copy of an old pardon, to submit, and bring into Dartmouth his ship, which is now unrigged, and thus that coast is made open

¹ Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, i. 292. The date of Richard Holworthy's mayoralty is variously given as 1634 and 1635.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1619–1623*, p. 619.

for trade, to the great comfort of the people, who feared Nutt's interrupting their Newfoundland voyage." On July 9 Nutt declared:

Has been a pirate for two years. Wishing for a pardon, wrote to Sir John Eliot, offering him 500*l.* to obtain him one which should enable him to retain his goods; Sir John consented, but told him, on his saying he had not the money ready, that he must have money or goods, however Nutt might come by them.

On July 24 Eliot said in his examination:

Never saw Nutt till he took him a pardon out of date, and thereby prevailed with him to come in and submit, but had previously corresponded with him about it, and was promised 500*l.* for obtaining it; received nothing from Nutt except six packs of calf skins, and laid aside those for the Lord Admiral's use;¹ denies inducing Nutt to continue his piracies, and endeavoured to dissuade him from them.

At this point Sir George Calvert, also a Secretary of State, took a hand in the affair, and on August 11 wrote Conway begging —

that Capt. Nutt may have the benefit of a second pardon granted him by the King, he having fulfilled the conditions by restoring all things taken since May 1st. He detests his former practices. Has no recompense promised by Capt. Nutt for the pardon, but is indebted to him for services in protecting the infant plantation in Newfoundland.

Calvert was successful in the end, and Nutt and his associates obtained a pardon, which was "regranted because the like pardon which passed the Seal in Feb. last did not reach them within the three months specified."² This picture of Nutt protecting the infant plantation in Newfoundland, but committing piratical depredations at home, is not without interest.

Of Richard Holworthy's second wife we get one glimpse, fleeting but worth recording. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Bristol, then the second city in the kingdom, closed its gates to both parties. Late in 1642 Sir Ferdinando Gorges was sent to request the ad-

¹ The Lord Admiral was Eliot's patron, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

² Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1619–1623, pp. 605, 606, 611; 1623–1625, pp. 29, 53, 69. In his sketch of Eliot in the Dictionary of National Biography, Gardiner says that "Eliot was committed to the Marshalsea on some trumped-up charges connected with the arrest" of Nutt.

mission of cavalry into Bristol, but was refused. When, shortly after, Colonel Thomas Essex arrived before the walls, the citizens were divided in opinion, and the mayor and council met at the Tolzey for deliberation. "The majority of the house seem to have been, like the mayor, attached to the party of the Parliament. News came in that Essex had passed Thornbury, and the house could arrive at no decision; when, lo! another army, whose only weapons were their tongues and their tears, gathered and marched on the Tolzey."¹ Among the leaders of this band of women was Mrs. Richard Holworthy, and through their contrivance Essex was admitted.

During the next few years Bristol underwent many vicissitudes. Colonel Essex was arrested by Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, son of that William Fiennes, first Viscount Saye and Sele, who was so prominent in the colonization of Rhode Island and Connecticut. In July, 1643, Colonel Fiennes surrendered to Prince Rupert, and in September, 1645, the city was taken by Fairfax and Cromwell. During the occupation of the city by the Royalists, a dispute arose between Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford; and to reconcile the conflicting parties, Charles went to Bristol August 3, 1643, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. The princes found accommodation at Richard Holworthy's in Small Street.²

There are extant two documents relating to John Holworthy, the brother of Richard, and James Crofts, who married their sister Prudence. These follow:

1643. Statement of James Croft's case. In 1643 the King, having taken Bristol, Mr. Croft intending to withdraw his estate from thence, shipped in the Tiger, of Amsterdam, six kilderkins of tin and 20 bales of calveskin for Marseilles, which ship was taken by the Parliament's ships and brought in as prize. Mr. John Holworthy, Croft's brother-in-law, claimed them in the Admiralty Court, and for that cause they were not condemned as prize, but sold by the collector of prize goods for 303*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*, of which sum he therefore prays restitution.

¹ Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, i. 300.

² Barrett, *History and Antiquities of Bristol*, p. 230; Seyer, *Memoir of Bristol*, ii. 418-419; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present*, i. 310.

1645, Dec. 24. Petition of James Crofts, of Bristol, merchant, to the Committee of the Navy and Customs. That petitioner is a man well affected to the King and Parliament, and has borne arms in their service, and when the enemies of this kingdom were in possession of Bristol he relieved the Parliament's soldiers at that time prisoners there, for which he was fined and plundered, for the truth of which statement he refers to the certificate of the present Governor and others. About March 1644, he having an intention to withdraw his estate from Bristol, that port being in the power of the King's forces, he caused 6 kilderkins of tin and 20 bales of calves' skins to be laden aboard the "Tiger" of Amsterdam, to be transported from thence to Marseilles, in France, there to be disposed of by his factor and the proceeds to be remitted to friends in London. Petitioner's goods were inserted in a bill of lading made in the name of John Holworthy, son of Alderman Holworthy and laden aboard the "Tiger," which was taken by the "Fellowship," then in the service of this Committee. That all the goods in the "Tiger" except those in the bill of lading by John Holworthy are condemned in the Court of Admiralty for prize, which latter were restored by order of this Committee to Holworthy, and so petitioner's goods are not yet condemned nor restored. Prays that his goods may be ordered to be restored to him in consideration of the premises.¹

In this petition are enclosed six documents, among them a "Certificate signed by Col. John Birch, Richard Aldworth, and others, testifying their experience of the fidelity and affection of James Crofte, of Bristol, merchant, to the Parliament and its cause," dated November 18, 1645. It looks very much as if Mr. Crofts had been attempting to ride two horses at the same time — the Parliamentary and the Royalist.

Before taking our leave of Bristol, mention should be made of one more document. In "A True and Perfect Accompt of all such monies as have been Received and Paid for your Ma^{ts} service and by your appointm^t by Jo: Ashburnham since y^e 1st of April 1642 to y^e 26th of Octo^{br} 1643,"² occurs this item:

From him [M ^r Jones] more of M ^r Holworthie being Composition money	} 0400 00 00
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¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643, p. 516; 1645-1647, p. 275.

² Narrative and Vindication of John Ashburnham, 1830, vol. ii. app. p. xiii.

The particular "Mr Holworthie" is not specified, but doubtless it was Richard, who must have died shortly after. In his will, dated October 10, 1643, and proved December 9, 1645, are these items: "To the mayor and commonalty of Bridgewater, Somerset, where I was born, fifty two pounds. . . . To my son Matthew Holworthie my rich scabbard which I had when I was mayor."¹

Matthew Holworthy, born in 1608, matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, October 20, 1626, and took his B.A. degree February 7, 1628-29.² He was sent by his father into France and became a merchant. In or about 1652 he married Mary, daughter of Robert Henley. This Robert Henley matriculated at the age of fourteen at Lincoln College, Oxford, on December 13, 1605; was of the Middle Temple in 1616, and bencher in 1645 as son and heir of Andrew Henley of Taunton; was one of the six clerks in chancery, 1618-1632; was chief clerk or master in King's Bench; was alderman of London; and was buried in the Temple Church, London, on February 29, 1655-56.

The following document is dated December 13, 1655:

Petition of Mathew Holworthy of London, merchant, & Mary his wife v. Robert Henley, the elder, of Middle Temple, Esq., "touching a marriage to be had between your Orator & Oratrix Mary Henley, dau: of s^d Rob^t Henley." February, 1651, it was agreed as follows:—"that Orator Mathew Holworthy should pay unto the s^d Robert Henley the sum of £ 6,666-13^s & 4^d to be employed & be [] in Land And that the s^d Robert Henley shall give and pay £ 3,333-6-8 as the marriage portion of your Oratrix Mary with y^r Orator the one halfe at the day of Marriage the other halfe in six monthes next after to make up the former sum ten thousand pounds, before mentioned was to be laid out in sound purchase of Land to be settled on your Orator & Ora-trix for their lives with the imediate remainder to the heires of your Orator Mathew begotten upon the body of your Oratrix Mary with the rest imediate remainder to the right heires of your Oratrix Mathew And if the Land soe purchased should exceed foure hundred and fifty

¹ An abstract of Richard Holworthy's will is in Waters's Genealogical Gleanings, i. 500.

² To Principal Heberden of Brasenose I am indebted, through our associate Professor George L. Kittredge, for the information that "we have no signature of Matthew Holworthy and nothing in our archives to add to the information" in the text.



A. H. Eaton & Co. Boston

Matthew Holworthy

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original by Sir Peter Lely belonging to
Harvard College



pounds per annum then the surplus of the proffittg during the Life of your Oratrix Mary to be paid for the maintenance of such child or children as your said Orator Mathew shall have begotten upon the body of the s^d Mary. But in default of issue to be had between them Then your Orator Mathew was freely to disp^{ose} of the surplus of the said land soe purchased to such person and persons and their heires as he shall think fit for what [] he pleased. And if your said Orator Mathew Holworthy should depart this life leaving the said Mary without any issue begotten upon her body that your s^d Orator Mathew should over and above the Joynture during her life leave unto the said Mary all household stuff furniture for an house and £1500 in money And it was further agreed that the s^d Robert Henley should pay unto your s^d Orator Mathew and after the rate of six pounds in the hundred Interest halfe yearly for all the Ten thousand pounds untill the same should be paid out for a purchase of Land in such manner and for such [] as aforesaid And your s^d Orator Mathew Holworthy was to allow unto the s^d Mary for apparrell and other necessaries three score pounds yearly And for the present the s^d Robert Henley was to give y^r Orator a Judgement to secure perferment of the s^d agreement on the s^d Robert Henley's part and the s^d Robert Henley did farther promise further to secure the same by and at of his fee simple Manner and Lande then [] of which agreement was produced into writing by way of Articles between y^r Orator Mathew and the s^d Robert Henley the 3rd April. 1652."

Six months intrest due last Oct:

"Said Robert Henley has grown into great years being sixty five years of age, But is grown to great weakness of body, & upon the marriage of his eldest son Andrew Henley,¹ gave most of his manners to him, so that he has only a life interest."

The answer of Robert Henley, dated December 20, 1655, shows that he was a large landowner in Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, London, and elsewhere. Sir Matthew's first wife died without surviving issue and was buried March 30, 1658, at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, London.

In the State Papers there is a single allusion to Sir Matthew under date of June 24, 1653:

¹ This Andrew Henley was made a Baronet June 20, and a Knight July 21, 1660, and died in or shortly before 1675. For a notice of him, see Cokayne's Complete Baronetage, iii. 69-70.

Council of State. Day's Proceedings. . . . Order on petition of Matthew Holworthy and Benjamin Whitcombe, that licence be granted them to import from Toulon 300 tuns of currants in an English or any other ship.

Accordingly, on June 30, the Council of State issued a warrant to "Generals and captains of ships."¹

The following document is undated:

Petition of Mary Holworthy, widow, executrix of the will of Richard Holworthy, late of Bristol, deceased, he employed and sent his son Mathew Holworthy to Marseiles in Dominion of France. After the death of said Richard Holworthy, large sums of money became due to him, and were collected by said Mathew Holworthy. Mathew Holworthy, John Holworthy, James Lance and his wife and others as yet unknown, did secure same to their own use, and boasted that they would use it to their own benefit, also they have secured a book of accompts of sd, Richard Holworthy.²

In his answer, dated November 22, 1653, Sir Matthew —

Mentions estate of sd. Richard Holworthy worth £12000 or thereabouts, and money paid to his father by Thomas Barnsley, John Fairfax, James Man, Francis Man and Mr. John Aldworth, alderman of Bristol, also mentions bro: John Holworthye at Marseiles, and brother Joseph Holworthy, then living in France.

In 1657 Sir Matthew purchased Sporle and Great Palgrave in Norfolk, having previously owned Little Palgrave. To the same year belongs the following recognizance:

Memorandum that Matthew Holworthy of London, Merchant Robert Henley of Middle Temple, Esq. being personally put before the Lord Protector in the High Court of Chancery, acknowledge that they owe to Sir W^m Paston Bart. £ 6000. This sum to be paid at or upon the "first day of the nativity of St John the Baptist." The goods chattells lands Tenem^{ts} & Hereditam^{ts} of said Matthew Holworthy & Robert Henley where ever they shall be found in the Commonwealth of England to be held to the use of s^d S^r W^m Paston his ex^{ors} &c.

"Witness the s^d Lord Protector on the twentyth day of June in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred & fifty seven."

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1652-1653, pp. 437, 481.

² James Holworthy is mentioned in this petition.

The condition of this Recognizance is that the s^d M. H. & R. H. their ex^rs &c. shall pay s^d S^r W^m Paston his ex^rs &c. £ 3000 "at the Shopp of Nicholas Edeward Scituat at the Starr in Lombard Streete London aforesaid Goldsmith upon the tenth day of November next ensuing then this Recognizance to be void."

Above is endorsed: "This Recognizance is made void by virtue of a commission as appeareth by the said Commission Endorsed on the backside hereof the 25th day of January. 1657"

The document which follows is dated February 11, 1661:

Petition of Mathew Holworthy of London Esq. Richard Holworthy of London Mercht. v. Edward Norsworthy Esq. re ship "George" of London "of the burthen of eighty Tunnes or thereabouts." Mathew Holworthy was owner of $\frac{3}{8}$ parts Richard Holworthy $\frac{1}{8}$ James Launce $\frac{1}{8}$ and Edward Norsworthy $\frac{3}{8}$ Edward Bullock and Edw. Norsworthy had goods shipped at Bristol by James Croft. Ship lost after reaching Rochell. Edw. Norsworthy and one Richard Wedford of Barnstable Mercht. gave out that the ship was wholly lost, and no profit made, but the Gunnes, Boats and Anchor and some goods were saved which Edw. Norsworthy and Richard Wedford secured to their own use, also other persons unknown to orators but known to Norsworthy and Wedford, and orators pray that the court will make them know, and defendants to this bill, they having kept sums secured from sale of goods saved.

In or about 1664 Sir Matthew married Lucy Jervoice, who is mentioned as his wife in the Visitation of London (in the Heralds' College) taken by Sir Edward Bysshe in 1664. She was the daughter of Richard Jervoice and died without issue before February, 1668-69. On May 12, 1665, Sir Matthew was knighted at Whitehall. The following document is dated January 11, 1668:

Petition of Sir Matthew Holworthy Kt. and Thomas Household of Ramsay, Hunts, Husbandman v. Henry Williams als Cromwell, the elder late of Ramsey Esq. and Henry Williams als Cromwell son and heir, being seized in fee of the manor of Ramsey. The defendants with their tenants agreed to employ Gabriel Elliott, late of Peterborough, Northans: Gent. "Skilfull in the art of Surveying" to drain part of "fennes" at Ramsey, Michmas 1652. and did contract with sd. Gabriel Elliott to give him the inheritance of a certain piece of Fenny Marsh — 50 acres — call'd Ramsey Kings Delfe, indenture dated 25 August 1655 free of payment of tythes &c. Place now vested in Plaintiffs, agreement

lost and defendants take advantage to demand tythes &c. Orators ask that all tythes and tenths should be conveyed to orators Sir Matthew Holworthy and his heirs.

In the Allegations for Marriage Licences issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London, 1543–1869, occurs this entry under date of February 16, 1668–69:

Sir Matthew Holworthy, K^t, of Shacklewell, co. Middx., Wid^r, & Susanna Henley, Sp^r, about 28, dau. of Henry Henley, of Leigh, co. Somerset, Esq; who consents; at Winsom, co. Somerset.¹

Lysons includes Shacklewell among “the hamlets and principal streets in Hackney;”² while Winsom is the modern Winsham. In A Collection of the Names of the Merchants Living in and about The City of London, published in 1677, are these entries: “John Halworthy, *Swithins-lane near Lombard Street*” and “Sir Mat. Halworthy, *Hackney, Spanish Walk Exchange*.³ Sir Thomas Gresham’s famous Royal Exchange, begun in 1566, was burned in the great fire of 1666, and a new building was begun in 1667, which in its turn was destroyed by fire in 1838. The two older buildings

¹ Publications of the Harleian Society, xxiv. 106.

The genealogy of the Henley family is complicated, and I am indebted for information to Mr. Holworthy and to our associate Mr. Henry W. Cunningham. Robert Henley of Leigh, Somerset, whose will was proved July 19, 1614, was the son of George Henley of Taunton, Somerset, and was twice married: first to Anne Truebody, and secondly to Elizabeth Freake. By his first wife, Robert Henley had a son, Andrew Henley of Taunton, whose will was proved January 14, 1630–31. This Andrew Henley married Dorothy Sandford and was the father of the Robert Henley who was buried in the Temple Church on February 29, 1655–56. This Robert Henley married Anne Eldred and had, among other children, Sir Andrew Henley and Mary Henley, the latter of whom was the first wife of Sir Matthew Holworthy.

By his second wife, Robert Henley of Leigh had a son Henry Henley of Leigh, who married Susanna Bragge and died in 1638. Henry and Susanna (Bragge) Henley had a son also named Henry Henley, of Leigh, who married for his first wife Susan Morridge. It was their daughter Susanna who became the third wife of Sir Matthew Holworthy.

It thus appears that the first wife and the third wife of Sir Matthew Holworthy were second cousins.

² Environs of London (1795), ii. 450.

³ This rare little volume was reprinted by Hotten in 1863 under the title of “The Little London Directory of 1677. The oldest printed List of the Merchants and Bankers of London.” There is a copy of the reprint in the Boston Athenæum.



W.H. Worster Sculpsit

Susanna Henley, Lady Holworthy

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original by Sir Peter Lely belonging to
Harvard College



were divided into "Walks," the Spanish Walk being at the entrance from Cornhill.¹

Sir Matthew died in the fall of 1678 and was buried at St. John, Hackney, on October 23.² When in London last summer I paid a visit to the church, hoping that there might be some memorials to the Holworthy family; but to my surprise I found only a tower standing, the rest of the church having been pulled down late in the eighteenth century. A picture of "The Parish Church of S^t John at Hackney," as it was in 1757, can be seen in Maitland's History and Survey of London, II. 1365; while a view of the tower as it was in 1809 is given in Hughson's London, 1809, VI. 329. Lady Holworthy was buried in the same church on May 21, 1690.² She left no will, but letters of administration were granted to her father on July 9 following:

Dame Susan Holworthy. 9th July, 1690. Commission issued to Henry Henley Esq^r grandfather & guardian of Matthew Holworthy a minor, son & only child of Dame Susan Holworthy, late of Hackney, co. Midd., widow, deceased to administer the goods etc of the said deceased during the minority of the said Matthew.

The will of Sir Matthew was dated May 9, 1677, and proved November 25, 1678.³

These documents relating to the Holworthy family may be brought to a close by the following petition, dated April 24, 1679:

Petition of George Holworthy, Rebecca Holworthy, John Holworthy, Ann Holworthy, surviving children of Richard Holworthy of London, Merchant, Deceased, and of Mary his wife, John and Ann, Infants. Guardian the Honble. John Strode Esq. Governor of Dover Castle. Estate of Richard Holworthy over £15,000 he died Nov. 1665. Mary Administratrix of sd. Richard Holworthy. To make sufficient provision for children of sd. Richd. did covenant by indenture 30 May 1666 with Sir Nicholas Strode of Inner Temple Kt. her eldest brother and with Sir Mathew Holworthy then of London Kt. decd. eldest brother of sd. Richard, to divide estate into three equal parts, one third for use of sd. Mary and two thirds to be deposited with Sir Mathew Holworthy, his

¹ A plan of the "Walks" as they were in 1837 is given in Thornbury's Old and New London, i. 497. See also Notes and Queries, Tenth Series, xii. 356.

² Lysons, Environs of London, ii. 499.

³ The will is printed on pp. 176-180, below.

exors and admonis, to be invested by him for use of sd. children and when they become of age of 21 to give them each 1 quarter, or on day of marriage amount of estate £14,801 7.2 besides £1000 in hands of John Colvile of London Esq. and in an indenture dated 13 Feb. 1671 between Mary Holworthy Sir Nicholas Strode and Sir Mathew Holworthy it was agreed she should take £4933.15.8 being $\frac{1}{3}^d$ the remaining $\frac{2}{3}^d$ to Sir Mathew and when the £1000 from John Colvile should be got in $\frac{1}{3}$ to sd. Mary and $\frac{2}{3}^{ds}$ to Sir Mathew to invest for benefit of sd. children. The sd. Sir Mathew did during his life time perform this trust. He died October 1678 and his exors Dame Susan Holworthy and Henry Henley Esq. duly proved his will. Orators now ask for their portions to be paid them, or such as are 21. George and Rebecca being of age. Dame Susan Holworthy and Henry Henley refuse to continue the trust, the other trustee, Sir Nicholas Strode, also refused, but desired exors to pay George and Rebecca and also the Infants their shares, they refused to comply.

Answer 5 May 1679.

That defendants are not willing to manage trust but are willing to assist, and for better understanding append a copy from Sir Matthew Holworthy's account book.

This is chiefly interesting as enabling us to identify two neighbors of Pepys who have hitherto eluded the researches of the commentators. On November 10, 1665, Pepys writes:

In the evening newes is brought to me my wife is come: so I to her, and with her spent the evening, . . . and she told me, . . . that another neighbour of our's, Mr. Hollworthy, a very able man, is also dead by a fall in the country¹ from his horse, his foot hanging in the stirrup, and his brains beat out.

Clearly Pepys's neighbor was Richard Holworthy, the brother of Sir Matthew. Of Richard's wife we get further glimpses, Pepys being characteristically of different minds about her. On April 1, 1667, he writes:

This evening Mrs. Turner came to my office, and did walk an hour with me in the garden, telling me stories how Sir Edward Spragge hath lately made love to our neighbour, a widow, Mrs. Hollworthy, who is a woman of estate, and wit and spirit, and do contemn him the most, and sent him away with the greatest scorn in the world.

¹ At Hinton, Devonshire.

Elsewhere Pepys spoke of Spragge as "a merry man that sang a pleasant song pleasantly," a description that might not have been relished by a man who rose to be Admiral. Mrs. Holworthy was herself capable of a bit of gossip, for on April 19, 1667, she talked to Mrs. Turner about Sir William Penn's having left Sir Robert Brookes "the other day to pay for a dinner at a tavern." Then on November 21st Pepys's wife tells him "great stories of the gossiping women of the parish — what this, and what that woman was; and, among the rest, how Mrs. Hollworthy is the veriest confident bragging gossip of them all, which I should not have believed; but that Sir R. Brookes, her partner [as sponsor at a christening], was mighty civil to her, and taken with her, and what not." On January 6, 1668, Pepys gave a feast:

And anon comes in Mrs. Turner, the mother, and brings with her Mrs. Hollworthy, which pleased me mightily. . . . I took Mrs. Turner and Hollworthy home to my house, and there gave wine and sweet-meats; but I find Mrs. Hollworthy but a mean woman, I think, for understanding, only a little conceited, and proud, and talking, but nothing extraordinary in person, or discourse, or understanding. However, I was mightily pleased with her being there, I having long longed to know her.

Notwithstanding this unfavorable opinion, Pepys acknowledges that on June 1, 1668, he went to call on Mr. Mills simply because he had seen Mrs. Holworthy go in there, and he met her again on June 19, and on January 31, 1669, they smiled upon one another in church. She afterwards married her cousin, Essex Strode, and died in 1676.

Of Sir Matthew Holworthy's descendants, little can be said here. His only child, Matthew, was baptized at Hackney on March 27, 1674;¹ at the age of twenty travelled on the Continent; on September 1, 1697, married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. James Desborough² and granddaughter of Samuel Desborough, Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, the latter of whom, it will be remembered, was at New Haven in 1639 and became one of the early settlers of Guilford, Connecticut, in 1641; and died May 18, 1728. Of

¹ Lysons, *Environs of London*, ii. 499.

² The name is also spelled Desborow and Disbrowe. I adopt the form given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

the four children of Matthew and Elizabeth Holworthy, Matthew died in infancy; Desborough died May 22, 1721; Susanna died June 2, 1721; and Elizabeth, who married Samuel Heathcote on May 3, 1720, died May 6, 1726. Samuel Heathcote and a maid of Matthew Holworthy's were tried, found guilty, and sentenced for seducing and carrying away Susanna Holworthy. Her son Samuel in 1750, by special act of Parliament, took the name of Holworthy, in accordance with the provisions in the will of his mother's mother, Elizabeth Holworthy, who died August 19, 1749. Samuel Holworthy married on October 4, 1752, Elizabeth, daughter of Admiral Nicholas Haddock. On March 17, 1756, Samuel Holworthy erected in the parish church of Elsworth, Cambridgeshire, a monumental inscription to the memory of Matthew and Elizabeth Holworthy, "late Lord and Lady of this Manor, whose exemplary Piety, liberal and extensive Charity, Probity, Humanity, and Candor were equalled by few."

It would be pleasant to know how Sir Matthew Holworthy became interested in the small, far-off college in New England, and what influences led him to bequeath so large a sum, but the facts are beyond recovery. Possibly, however, it was through the means of the Henry Henley who, as appears from the following extract, had been a benefactor to the College nine years before the death of Sir Matthew:

Henry Henly Esq^r, of Lime in Dorsetshire gave to the Colledge, Twenty seaven pounds. Whereof the Overseers being informed, they ordered Cap^t John Richards Treār, to receive the same, & to returne the Dono^r a Letter of Thankfullness in the Name of the Overseers.

Boston. June 3. 1669.¹

Though this Henry Henley was not Sir Matthew Holworthy's third father-in-law, yet the two were doubtless related, for the Dorset family of Henley appears to have originally come from Somerset.

In a letter written me in August, 1908, Mr. Frederic Holworthy said that there were in the possession of Mr. Herbert Fleetwood Holworthy and his sisters of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, portraits by Sir Peter Lely of Sir Matthew and Lady Holworthy.² This in-

¹ College Book, iii. 53.

² In October, 1908, Mr. Holworthy sent me photographs of the portraits, which were exhibited at the meeting of this Society held in January, 1909 (Publ-

teresting information was at once communicated to our associate Mr. William C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard University, with whom originated the idea of buying the portraits, and to whose initiative is due the successful carrying out of the idea. On last Commencement Day President Lowell announced that the portraits had reached this country, the gift of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr., of the Class of 1889, and Mr. Edward F. Whitney of the Class of 1871. The Lady Holworthy depicted was the third wife of Sir Matthew. The portraits now adorn the walls of the Fogg Art Museum.

WILL OF JOHN HOLWORTHY, 1562

In the name of God amen the last daye of December in the yere of o^r lord a thousande fyve hundreth three score & twooe and in the fyfte yeare of the reigne of o^r moast gracious sovereigne Ladye Quene Elizabethe John Holworthie of Langdon in the Countie of Somersett gentleman knowinge that all flessh must nedes perisse and consume to dust from whence it came And that we must departe from this worlde but the houre of death no man knoweth But it is reserved to almighty god o^r heavenlie father therefore whilst tyme and oportunitie doth serve being of whole mynde and perfitt remembrance praised be the Almighty God for it doo make and ordeine this my psente testamet and last will in man^r and forme followinge First I comende my soule to almighty god my maker and redemor and by hym onelie I trust to be saved and my bodye to be buried in place conveinient where it shall seeme good to my executor Item I gyve and bequeath to the Churche of Wells twelue pence Item I give and bequeathe to the poore people of the parishe of Kinges brompton three shillinges fowre pence Item I will and bequeathe that all suche dettes as I doe owe of righte or ells of conscience be well and trulie paide by my excutoure Also by this my last will and testa^t I will gyve and bequeathe vnto my daughter Chris-

cations, xii. 237). As the photographs were old and not suitable for reproduction, Mr. Holworthy kindly had new photographs taken and sent me the negatives in July, 1909. The one of Sir Matthew not being altogether satisfactory, when the portraits reached Cambridge new photographs of both were taken, and from these are reproduced the illustrations in the text. The facsimile of Sir Matthew's signature is from an autograph appended to Sir Edward Bysshe's Visitation of London, 1664, in the Heralds' College. The manuscript Holworthy pedigree, also sent me by Mr. Holworthy and exhibited in January, 1909, has been placed in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Many names appear in the pedigree that are not mentioned in this sketch.

tian the some of fourtie markes of good and lawfull money of Englande to be paide to her at the daye of her mariage or wthin shorte tyme after But yf she be maried in my lief tyme and receyve her pferment of me Then my will and intente ys she take nothing by this my last will and testament All the residue of gooddes and cattells implements and all my houshold stuff whatsoev^r and all other whatsoeuer they be or shalbe as plate somes of moneye or any other things of what kynde or qualitie so ever they be after my debtes paide and my funeralls fullie and trulie discharged I fullie and whollie gyve all my gooddes and cattells implements of howshold and all other thinges whatsoevr they are or shalbe vnto Robert Holworthie my sonne whom I make my sole and onelie executor In witnesse whereof to this my presente last will and testament I haue sette my hande and seale the daye and yeare first above written.

Signed and sealed in the presence of James Boyse and William Golde and Roberte Mullens.¹

WILL OF SIR MATTHEW HOLWORTHY, 1677

Dñus In the name of God Amen.
 Matheus I Mathew Holworthy of Hackney in the County of Middle-
 Holworthy Miles. sex Knight being through the mercy of Almighty God in
 perfect health both of Body and mind and of sound memory and sens-
 ible of the instability of this fraile and uncertaine life am willing and
 desirous to settle my estate and all my worldly concernments before
 I be taken from hence unto my long home and be noe more seene To
 which purpose I doe make and Constitute this my last will and Testa-
 ment in manner and forme following Revoaking and Nulling all former
 Wills.

First and principally I doe humbly Comitt my soule into the hands
 of God my Creator and Redeemer who gave it unto me to be received
 into his eternall Rest my body I Comitt to the earth from whence it
 came to be decently buried as to my Executors hereafter named shall
 seeme meete. And Touching that Temporall Estate wherewith through
 the Blessing of the Lord I am possessed I doe with his gratiouse leave
 and assistance give and dispose of as followeth. Inprimis I doe will order
 and appoint that my said Executo^{rs} shall out of the First moneys they
 shall draw in of my estate pay and discharge all my debts And shall
 afterwards pay and discharge all my guifts and Legacies bequeathed
 and given by me in and by this my last will and Testament. Item I doe

¹ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Carew, 19.

giue and bequeath vnto my deare wife Susanna Holworthy over and aboue her joyntrye and other settlements made vnto her and for her vse the sume of Three Hundred pounds and all her jewells and ornaments of her body for ever. And the vse of all my plate and furniture and goods of my house during her naturall life. And after her decease I doe giue the same vnto my sonne Mathew forever. I doe further giue vnto my said deare wife full power by this my last will to sell the Fee of my now dwelling house in Hackney aforesaid with all the Grounds and appurtenances thereto belonging and to retaine vnto herselfe to her proper vse one Third part of the moneys that shall be made thereof The other Two Third parts thereof I doe giue and bequeath vnto my sonne Mathew aforesaid and to his heires for ever. Item I doe giue and bequeath vnto the Colledge or vniuersity in or of Cambridge in New England the summe of one Thousand pounds to be paid and made over to the Governors and directors thereof to be disposed of by them as they shall judge best for promoteing of learning and promulgation of the Gospell in those parts. The same to be paid within Two yeares next comeing after my decease.¹ Item I doe will and ordaine That there shall be Land bought and purchased to the Import and vallew of Six Hundred pounds as neare as Conveniently may be vnto my Mannor of Sporle in Norfolke I say in the County of Norfolke. And that the yearly Rents and proffitts thereof shall be given and paid vnto such Minister as shalbe fittly qualified for the Ministry and knowne to be of a good life and Conversation and shall every Lords day preach Two sermons in the Church of that parish (viz^t) one in the morning and another in the afternoon att the vsuall Howers And shall continue to be soe paid to the succeeding Minister and Ministers who shall preach accordingly But att all times of Intermission and faylure in soe doeing The said Rents and proffitts shalbe receaved by my next heire and heires to their proper vse dureing all the time of such faylure in Preaching. And I doe will and desire that the same be done without delay Item I doe will and ordaine that the sume of Two Thousand pounds shall be giuen and disposed of In and to such Charitable vse and vses as shalbe directed in and by a Schedule hereunto annexed or in or by other writing vnder my hand writing The same to be paid within Two yeares next ensueing my decease. And for default of such Schedule and writing I doe entreate my Executo^{rs} to dispose thereof in and to such Charitable vse and vses as they shall judge best. Item I doe giue vnto the poore of the Towne

¹ A previous will, dated March 20, 1676, of which a copy was sent me by Mr. Holworthy, contained a similar provision.

of Sporle aforesaid the sume of Twenty pounds And to the poore of the parish of Hackney Twenty pounds To be paid within Six moneths next ensueing after my decease vnto the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poore of those respective parishes To be by them paid and distributed to and amonge their said poore. Item I doe will and ordaine that there shall be paid vnto Edmond Channell the sume of nyneeteene pounds Thirteene shillings and vnto Sisley Binner Thirty six pounds six pence which severall sumes I haue made good to their respective accompts in my new Books of accounts begun the First day of December last past And I doe will that the same be paid vnto them within Six moneths next ensueing after my decease Item I doe give and bequeath vnto John Burrow All the debt he oweth vnto me by his Acco^t: And all my wearing apparell And all my house goods That are in the keeping of his Brother Robert Burrow I doe alsoe giue vnto him all those severall sumes of moneys oweing vnto me by severall Bonds of his Brother Thomas Burrow paid and furnished vnto him by himselfe without and against my will and order And doe will that the said Bonds be delivered to the said John. Item I doe giue vnto all and every of my servants Five poundes vnto each of them for putting themselves into mourning Item I doe giue and bequeath vnto all and every of my Nephewes and Nieces Tenn pounds, I say Tenn pounds to each of them to dispose of in mourning or otherwise as they shall see good. Item I doe giue and bequeath vnto my sister Mary Madocke eight pounds per Annum to be paid vnto her during her naturall life and noe longer to Commence from the next day after my death Item I doe giue and bequeath vnto my Sister Croft six pounds per Annū to be paid vnto her during her naturall life and noe longer and to comence from the last payment made vnto her of the like allowance, I have given and doe giue her. Item I doe order and will That six pounds shalbe paid every year vnto M^r Thomas Gouge¹ to promote his labour in Instructing the Welsh as long as he shall continue in that pious worke Item I doe giue and bequeath the sume of Three Hundred pounds to be paid vnto such Ministers as my Executors shall judge deserving and to need supply not exceeding Tenn pounds vnto any of them singlye And that the same be paid within Two yeares next comeing after my decease at furthest but rather sooner as my moneys shall come in Item I doe giue and bequeath vnto my sonne Matthew All the remaines and remainders of my Estate both Reall and personall to him and his heires for ever he paying

¹ For a sketch of the Rev. Thomas Gouge (1609–1681) and his labors in Wales, see the Dictionary of National Biography.

to every other Child begotten mee the sume of Three Thousand pounds to each of them as soone as any of them shall have attained vnto the age of Twenty one yeares And shall alsoe pay vnto every and each of them Fourty pounds per Annū dureing the life of my deare wife for their maintenance and breeding up And after her decease shall allow and pay vnto every and each of them one Hundred pounds per Annū for their maintenance and greatninge of their portions And shall continue to be so paid vnto them vntill they shall have attained their respective ages of Twenty one yeares And the receipt of their respectiu portions of Three Thousand pounds hereby given and bequeathed And I doe will and ordaine That my Mannor of Sporle aforesaid doe stand engaged for the payment thereof vntill the full and entire payment shall be made. Item I doe will and ordaine (That if my sonne Matthew shall dye and depart this life Childeſſe without issue lawfully begotten) That the same the whole and every part of what given vnto him by this my last will shall be given vnto my next eldest sonne with the same lymitations and engagements and in Inheritance for ever. And in default and failure of issue of and from such eldest sonne or other sonne of mine I giue the same the whole and every part thereof unto my Daughter and daughters lawfully begotten by mee to them and their heires in Inheritance for ever. And vpon faylure of issue from myself in a direct lyne (that is to say) from any Child or Children of myne I doe giue and bequeath vnto my nephew George Holworthy to enjoy during his naturall life all my Mannor of Sporle with Great Palgraue in the County of Norfolke And after his decease vnto his next heire male and to his heires male In inheritance for ever lawfully begotten And in default of such his heire and heires male I doe giue and Bequeath the same vnto his brother John Holworthy to enjoy during his naturall life And after his decease vnto his heire and heires male lawfully begotten In Inheritance for ever And in default of such his heire and heires male I doe giue and bequeath the same vnto my nephew John Holworthy sonn of my Brother John Holworthy to enjoy during his naturall life And after his decease to his heire and heires male lawfully begotten In Inheritance for ever. And in default of such his heire and heires male, vnto my selfe and my heires for ever. And if my said sonne and every other Child of myne shall all depart this life without issue I doe then giue and bequeath All the Remaines and remainders of my Personall Estate vnto the Children that shall be then liueing of my Brother Richard Holworthy deceased, of my brother John Holworthy of my Sister Mary Madocke and of my sister Anne Launce To be paid vnto them respectively in equall parts and portions. The words (vnto my selfe and my heires for ever) were en-

terlined before the sealing and delivery hereof. And lastly I doe nominate constitute and appoint my Father Henry Henly Esquire and my deare wife Susanna Holworthy to be my lawfull Executo^{rs} vnto this my last will and Testament And doe leaue and recomend vnto them the Guardianshipp of my sonne and make them his Guardians entreating them to endeavor^r the improuement of my Estate given vnto him vpon good Morgages I say endeavour the soe improuem^t thereof or in purchasing of lands as to their Judgments shall seeme best and most secure And cheifly I doe recommend vnto their vndoubted care in seeing him well brought vpp and educated in the nurture and Admonition of the Lord That he may be serviceable to his Glory Further I doe confirme all and every the Giufts bequests and Legacies giuen and bequeathed in and by this my Last Will and Testam^t And in Witnes thereof haue herevnto put my hand and seale this Ninth daye of May One Thousand six hundred Seaventy Seaven I say the Ninth day of May 1677 Matthew Holworthy.

Memorandum that the said Matthew Holworthy the same 9th day of May wee say the 9th day 1677 did signe and seale this writing And did declare that the same was and did containe his last will and Testament in the presence of vs wee say this Ninth day of May 1677. George Trenchard John Ball John Burrow.

Proved at London 25th November 1678 by Henry Henly & Lady Susanna Holworthy relict Executors named in the above Will.

[*Marginal note*]

Decimo septimo die Augusti Anno Dni 1704 em^t Co^mo Matheo Holworthy A^r filio et Residiario Legata^r noiāt in Testo Dni Matthei Holworthy defuncti ad adstrand bona jura et cred^d dñ defuncti juxta tenorem et effectum Testi ipsius defti per se Henricum Henly et Dominam Susanam Holworthy Executorum modo de Mortuis inadstrat de bene &c jurat.¹

¹ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Reeve, 41. An abstract of Sir Matthew's will is given in Waters's Genealogical Gleanings, i. 500, where also will be found various Holworthy, Haviland, Desborough, and other wills. See also Notes and Queries, Tenth Series, ix. 208, 273, 377.

Since the above paper was written, several matters have come to light that are worth recording. First, Mr. Charles Warren kindly calls my attention to a curious letter quoted in his History of the Harvard Law School. It was written in 1812 by President Kirkland to Treasurer Davis and reads as follows:

I find some gentlemen are sorry to have our new college receive so hard a name — Holworthy Hall — has two aspirates besides the W. and the T. H. —

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. Dr. James De Normandie, the Rev. Dr. George Foot Moore, the Rev. Dr. Leverett Wilson Spring, Colonel Frederic Vaughan Abbot, Colonel William Roscoe Livermore, Dr. Harold Clarence Ernst, Dr. Charles Pickering Putnam, Sir Gilbert Carter, and Messrs. Arthur Fairbanks, Edwin Herbert Hall, Arthur Dehon Hill, Edward Percival Merritt, Robert Lincoln O'Brien, Bliss Perry, Frederic Jesup Stimson, Elihu Thomson, John Trowbridge, Winslow Warren, and Arthur Gordon Webster. The PRESIDENT presided.

which twist and squeeze the organs not a little. Is there other any better or more suitable—or will you reconsider on account of the objection—which is of some consequence (i. 323 note).

Secondly, Mr. Edward W. Forbes writes me that the Holworthy portraits have, at the request of our associate President Lowell, been transferred from the Fogg Art Museum to the Faculty Room in University Hall.

Thirdly, Mr. Charles N. Baxter informs me that the Bostonian Society owns two Harvard College lottery tickets. On inspection, one proves to be No. 10699 of the Fifth Class, dated February, 1811, and signed by John Williams as manager. The other is a quarter-ticket, also of the Fifth Class, No. 11280, dated May, 1811; but instead of a manager's name there is written in ink "W & T Kidder," and at the bottom is the line, "*At their Real Fortunate Lottery Office, No. 9, Market-square.*" Apparently, therefore, this quarter-ticket was printed not by the managers of the lottery but by the lottery dealers.

Fourthly, I have been able to identify the Henry Henley of Lyme Regis who in 1669 gave £27 to Harvard College (p. 174, above) as Henry Henley of Colway, son of Henry Henley of Leigh and own brother of Susanna Henley, the third wife of Sir Matthew Holworthy. See Publications of this Society, xiv. 45-49.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1910

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 22 December, 1910, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced that in accordance with a vote of the Council he had appointed Messrs. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, and ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE delegates from this Society to the seventh annual conference of State and local historical societies to be held at Indianapolis on December twenty-eighth under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that since the last meeting letters had been received from Mr. FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, the Hon. JOHN ADAMS AIKEN, the Rev. Dr. GEORGE FOOT MOORE, and Mr. JOHN WOODBURY accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS stated that a copy had recently been found in the library of the American Antiquarian Society of *The American Monitor: Or, The Republican Magazine*, for October, 1785.¹

¹ In his Lists of New England Magazines, 1743-1800, communicated to the Society in January, 1910, Mr. Matthews gave the title of this magazine, but at that time no copy was known to be in existence. See p. 70, above. For the information given in the text, the Editor is indebted to Mr. Clarence S. Brigham.

Mr. HORACE E. WARE made the following communication:

OBSERVATION WITH THE DIPPING NEEDLE
AT BOSTON IN 1722

Referring to the publication of the Coast and Geodetic Survey entitled 'United States Magnetic Declination Tables and Isogonic Charts for 1902 and Principal Facts Relating to the Earth's Magnetism, second edition, by L. A. Bauer, Chief of Division of Terrestrial Magnetism, I ask your attention to the illustration on page 45 entitled "Fig. 9—Curves showing secular change in magnetic declination and dip at London, Boston, and Baltimore." This figure is inserted in the text of the part entitled "Principal Facts relating to the Earth's Magnetism," and in the section "The Variations of the Earth's Magnetism." A facsimile reproduction of the figure is given on the next page (184). Our concern is with the beginning of the curve for Boston in the year 1722, and with the observation by means of which the degree of the inclination or dip of the magnetic needle at Boston was then ascertained.

On page 38 of this publication is the following footnote:

The suggestion of determining the longitude at sea by means of the magnetic declination started with Columbus and served to stimulate the making of magnetic observations until the close of the eighteenth century. In 1720 William Whiston, the translator of Josephus, revived Gilbert's idea of using the dip, and accordingly supplied certain mariners with dip circles. Thus some notable contributions to terrestrial magnetism were obtained. The earliest dip observation in the United States is that made at Boston in 1722 with a dip circle supplied to Capt. Othniel Beal by Whiston.

Upon inquiry I learned that the source of information as to the observation at Boston by Captain Othniel Beale above referred to was the book by William Whiston published at London in 1724 entitled, *The Calculation of Solar Eclipses without Parallaxes, etc.*, the title in full being given below. I have not been able to ascertain that there is in the United States a copy of this book or any republication of that part of it treating of the observations made with dipping needles. Last summer Mr. Albert Matthews, when in

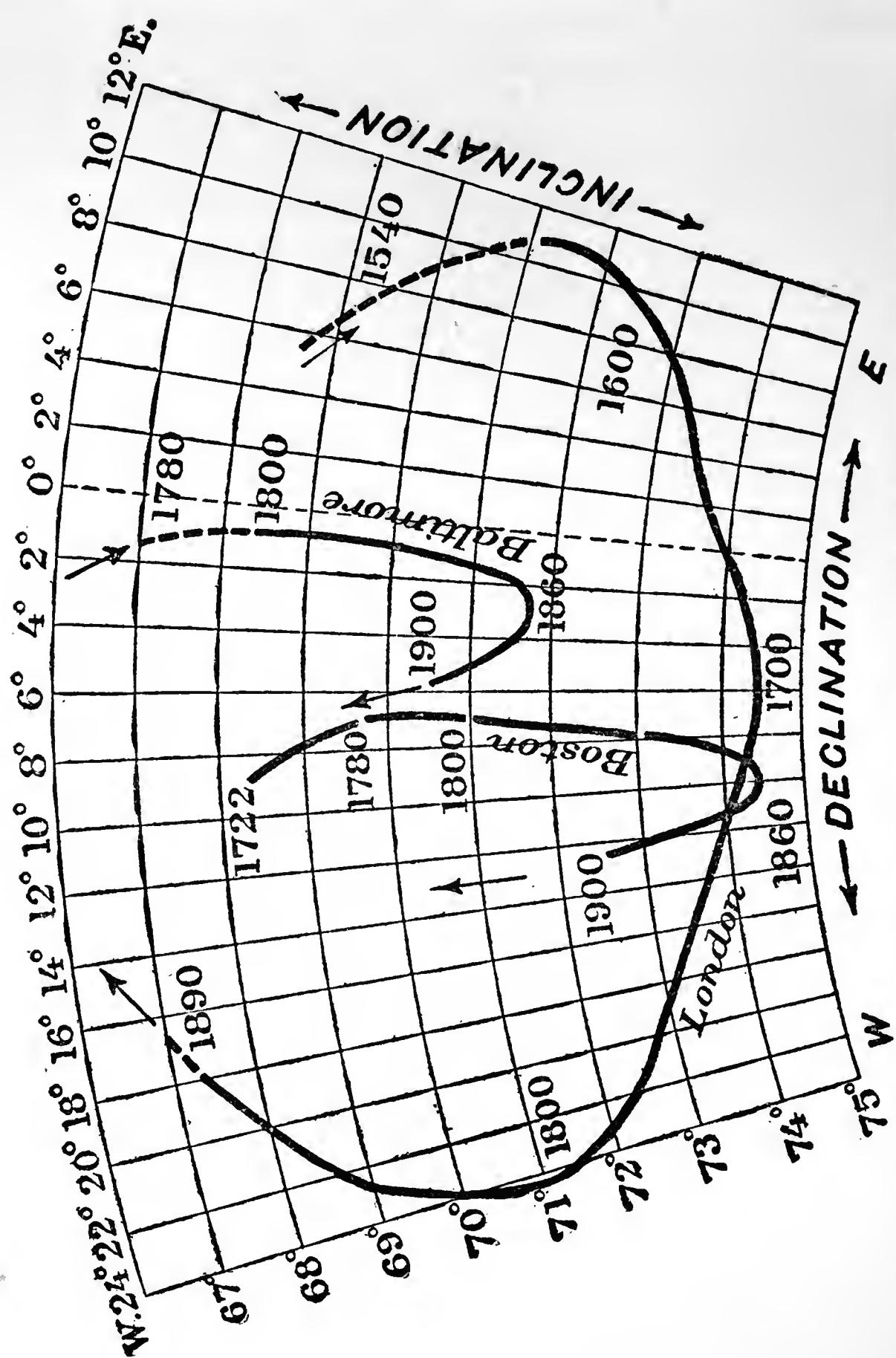


FIG. 9.—Curves showing secular change in magnetic declination and dip at London, Boston, and Baltimore.

London, kindly copied at the British Museum the title of Whiston's book and procured for me a copy of "Some Account of Observations lately made with Dipping-Needles." The title-page of the book is as follows:

'The | Calculation | of | Solar Eclipses | without | Parallaxes. | With | A Specimen of the same in the | Total Eclipse of the Sun, May 11. 1724. | Now first made Publick. | To which is added, | A Proposal how, with the Latitude | given, the Geographical Longitude of all the | Parts of the Earth may be settled by the bare | Knowledge of the Duration of Solar Eclipses, | and especially of Total Darkness. | With | An Account of some late Observations made with | Dipping Needles, in order to discover the Longitude | and Latitude at Sea. | By Will. Whiston, M. A. | Sometime Professor of the Mathematicks in the | University of Cambridge. | London: | Printed for J. Senex in Fleetstreet; and | W. Taylor in Pater-Noster-Row. 1724.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Lemmata: or, Preparatory Propositions, pp. 1-41; Problems, pp. 42-73; A Proposal For the Discovery of the Longitude of the several Places of the Earth, by Total Eclipses of the Sun, pp. 74-78; Advertisement [relating to "an Orery" and "a Copernicus Improv'd" Whiston proposes to make], p. 78; [various tables and calculations], pp. 79-82; Some Account of Observations lately made with Dipping-Needles, in Order to discover the Longitude and Latitude at Sea, pp. 83-94; [figures 1-12], 1 page; Errata, 1 page.

Because of the historical interest, both local and general, of "Some Account of Observations lately made with Dipping-Needles," etc., and of the desirability of having its material reproduced on this side the water, it is here reprinted.

Some Account of Observations lately made with Dipping-
Needles, in Order to discover the LONGITUDE and
LATITUDE at Sea.

UPON the Receipt of the liberal Assistance of His most Excellent Majesty, King *GEORGE*, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Wales*, and many other of the Nobility and Gentry, my kind Friends, I sent last Year Four several Dipping-Needles to Sea; with Frames hung near the Center of Motion in Gimbal, to avoid the Shaking of the Ship; and with proper Instructions to the Masters of the Vessels: And this, in order to discover the State of Magnetism in the several Parts of the Globe; and to find whether accurate Observations could be made at

Sea, and to determine whether the fundamental Theory I laid down from former Observations would hold or not; *viz.* "That Magnetick Variation and Dip are all deriv'd from one Spherical Magnet in the Center of our Earth; with an irregular Alteration of the Variation, according to the different Degrees of Strength of the several Parts of the Loadstone, as compounded with a very slow Revolution from *East* to *West*: And with a regular Alteration of the Dip, nearly according to the Line of Sines, from the Magnetick Pole to the Magnetick Equator; the Axis of that Equator being sufficiently Oblique [84] to its Plane: All which is the Case of Spherical Loadstones here." Now having already received Four Journals from Four several Masters employ'd, I take this Occasion of returning my Benefactors hearty Thanks for their Assistance, and of giving them and the Publick some Account of the Success of these Observations; and what Consequences are naturally to be drawn from them; with the Difficulty hitherto met with in the Practice at Sea, and the proper Remedy for the same in future Trials.

Captain *James Jolly* set out in *July*, 1722. for *Archangel*, with one of my Dipping-Needles on Board. He, for some time, met with such Difficulties in the Practice, as confin'd to the Frame I had given him, that he was not at first able to make any good Observations at all. But after some Time, he took the Needle into his own Cabin; and without any Approach to the Center of Motion, or any Contrivance for avoiding the Shaking of the Ship at all, having a clear and full Gale all along, but without any stormy Weather, He made me 28 very good Horizontal Observations, from the Latitude of 65° quite to *Archangel*: I say, *Horizontal Observations* only, as I desired him; the Needle, by an Accident before he went, being rendred incapable of making any other with sufficient Accuracy. In this Space the Needle altered its Velocity very greatly, as I expected it would: And 5 Vibrations which at first were perform'd in about 280"; beyond the *North-Cape* came to 250"; till towards *Archangel* it gradually returned to about 177".

Captain *Othniel Beal* set about the same Time for *Boston* in *New-England*, with the same [85] Instrument, and made Four Observations of the Dip, both by the Vertical and Horizontal Vibrations, and by the Dip it self; Three upon the open Sea, and One in the Haven of *Boston*: Which in some small Manner differed one from another, but in the main agreed, and kept the due Analogy I expected. He greatly complained of the Shaking of the Ship; till in *Boston* Haven he made a nice Observation both Ways, which did not greatly differ: Tho' the greatest Part of his Observations by the Dip it self were somewhat more agreeable to Analogy than the other. The Reason was, I take it, that, as he

assured me, he always took great Care to avoid the Shaking of my Frame; which Frame tho' it very much avoided the slower and greater Oscillation of the Ship, yet made a quicker but lesser Oscillation it self: Which Fault I was sufficiently sensible of just before the Ships were going away, but was not able then to obviate; as I am prepared to do hereafter. After Captain *Beal* had made and sent me these Observations, he pursued his Voyage to *Barbados*, and thence to *Charles Town* in *South Carolina*; at both which Places he made Observations; but the best at *Barbados*. For before he came to *Carolina*, he observed the Axis of the Needle to shake; which made him take the Dip there otherwise than he ought to have done; which is the natural Occasion that the Dip there did not so well agree to Analogy as the rest. However, upon my Receipt of his first Journal, with the Four first Observations, especially the exact one at *Boston*; I formed a more exact Theory of the Proportion of the Alteration of the Dip in the Spherical Magnet of the Earth; and found it at this Distance of the Earth's Surface, not far from that in my Spherical Loadstone, at the Di-[86]stance of about $\frac{1}{10}$ of an Inch from its Surface; viz. Not exactly as the Line of Sines, where at the Middle of the Line the Angles are 60 and 30; but rather as 66 to 24. Which Rule therefore is what I now propose as much nearer than the other. By which Proportion I determined long before-hand the Dip at *Barbados* of 43° or 44° , as many of my Friends can witness: And when Captain *Beal* delivered me the Paper of this Observation at *Barbados*, before I opened it, or in the least knew what Dip it contain'd, I foretold to him from that Theory the very same Dip, which both himself and his Paper immediately assur'd me to be true; and whose Truth, as he inform'd me afterwards, was confirm'd by another Observation, made a little before in the open Sea, of about 45° .

Captain *Tempest* also, about the same Time, set out for *Antegoa* and *St. Christopher's*, with the same Instrument and Frame. In his Letter, dated last *January*, he greatly complains of the Shaking of my Frame; and proposes an Hint how it might be avoided: Which Method of its Avoidance I had long before thought of, and provided for accordingly; and which has been a full Year ready for Practice. Those Observations of his, that I have yet received; for I have not heard from him since *January*, but hope soon to hear farther; were but Three, and all at open Sea; and but one of them made both the Ways that I desired: and, indeed, seem the least agreeable to Analogy of any of the rest. Only since that single Observation, which was also made by the horizontal Vibrations and vertical Oscillations, agrees very well to that Analogy;

since they all three are about the same [87] Quantity of 8 or 9 Degrees exceed that Analogy; and since very near the same Place, where the third Observation was made, I have a double Observation of Captain *Beal's* to correct the same; I rather conclude, that Captain *Tempest* made a Mistake, and placed the wrong Edge of the Needle upward in all the Three Observations: Which would naturally occasion such a Difference. When I receive the rest of his Observations, or his Needle again, I shall be able to judge better of that Matter. However, even these Observations agree in gross with all the rest, to the gradual Decrease of the Dip as you go nearer to the Equator: Tho' as they stand at present, they do not determine the accurate Proportion of that Alteration so well as the others.

Captain *Michel* also, long after the rest, set out for *Hamburg* with the same Instrument; though now without the Frame, which he was not willing to incumber himself with: and I suspected that in its present Contrivance it did more hurt than help the Nicety of the Experiments. I also by him, sent a Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Eberhard*, who was the Occasion of my studying this Matter, and was then Pastor of *Altena*, close by *Hamburg*; desiring that he would there make the Experiment very exactly, and give me a particular Account of it. But I have not yet received his Answer.

Now the Observations here mentioned, as well as those many others I had by me before, do seem to me in general evidently to afford us the following Inferences:

(1.) That there is one Spherical Loadstone, and but one in the Center of our Earth; and that this [88] Loadstone, like other Spherical Loadstones, has but one *Northern Pole*: Contrary to Dr. *Halley's* Hypothesis.

(2.) That this *Northern Pole* is situated, contrary to the same Hypothesis also, a great Way to the *East* of our Meridian: And indeed, as I before had determined, about the Middle of the Distance between the *North Cape* and *Nova Zembla*. Captain *Jolly's* numerous Observations prove this most fully: While in Sailing towards that Point his horizontal Vibrations greatly increas'd in Number: And when he turned almost at right Angles, as he went down to *Archangel*, they soon diminished; and yet so little, after some time that it was evident he then sailed not far from a Parallel to that *Northern Pole*; and not very many Degrees from it neither; exactly according to my Expectations.

(3.) That the absolute Power of the internal Magnet is considerably

different in different Places; and that without any certain Rule; as it is upon the Surface of our *Terrellæ* or Spherical Loadstones here. This the various Number of Seconds to a vertical Oscillation, and all the Accounts in the other Observations fully prove; and by consequence this must cause different Variations in different Places, as is the Case of our *Terrellæ*.

(4.) That there no where appears in open Seas any such Irregularity in the Dip, as we sometimes meet with near Shores, or at Land; and by consequence that Dr. *Halley's* grand Objection against the Discovery of the Longitude by the Dipping-Needle, taken from an Observation of his own, concerning such an Irregularity near the Shore at *Cape Verd*; and from his own Hypothesis of the four Magnetick Poles is utterly ground-[89]less. Nor indeed shall I be at Rest, till I have sent a Dipping-Needle to *Hudson's Bay*, on purpose to determine this Dispute about the four Poles: For that Voyage being almost directly towards his second *Northern* Pole all the way, and about the same Distance all the way from mine; if this Voyage afford much the same Dip, it will demonstrate that there is but One *Northern* Pole; and that it is nearly where I place it: But if that Dip greatly *increase*, it will demonstrate a second Pole somewhere in those Parts of *America*, where Dr. *Halley* places it. And to this Decretory Experiment do I appeal for a final Determination of this Question. The Doctor seems to me to draw his Inferences from the *Variation*, which no Way proves any such double Poles; as being full as sensible on our *Terrellæ*, which have no more than single ones; while he avoids all Observations from the *Dip*, which are still against him; and which are alone capable of discovering the exact Place of such Poles, either upon the Surface of the Earth, or of *Terrellæ*. However, when one Set of Experiments with a Dipping-Needle, sent to *Hudson's Bay*, will certainly determine this Matter, 'tis a vain Thing to go on in the Way of Controversy about it.

In short, The Observations hitherto made, shew that the Foundations I go upon in this Discovery of the *Longitude* and the *Latitude at Sea*, are true and right: That the Terrestrial Magnetism is very regular and uniform, in the open Seas; that the Latitude in the *Northern* Parts may even, without any Avoidance of the Shaking of the Ship, in ordinary calm Weather, be in good Degree thereby discovered already; and that if I can sufficiently avoid the Shaking of the Ship, which I am now endeavouring, and have great [90] Hopes of performing, both *Latitude* and *Longitude* may by this Method be discovered in the greatest Part of the sailing World. I say nothing here of another Method of Trial, which I am also pursuing, and which depends, like this, on the avoiding

A Table of the Angle of Inclination below the Horizon, in Dipping-Needles, to every $\frac{1}{50}$ Part of their respective equal Distances from the Magnetick Poles and Equator.

Dist. from the Pole.	Dip.	Dist. from the Equat.	Dip.
°	° °	°	° °
1	89 30	1	08 41
2	89 00	2	12 23
3	88 27	3	15 14
4	87 59	4	17 41
5	87 29	5	19 51
6	86 59	6	21 50
7	86 38	7	23 41
8	85 58	8	25 24
9	85 27	9	27 2
10	84 57	10	28 36
11	84 27	11	30 6
12	83 56	12	31 32
13	83 26	13	32 55
[91]			
Dist. from the Pole.	Dip.	Dist. from the Pole. ¹	Dip.
°	° °	°	° °
14	82 55	14	34 15
15	82 24	15	35 33
16	81 54	16	36 50
17	81 23	17	38 4
18	80 52	18	39 16
19	80 21	19	40 28
20	79 49	20	41 37
21	79 18	21	42 45
22	78 47	22	43 54
23	78 16	23	44 58
24	77 44	24	46 2
25	77 12	25	47 6
26	76 41	26	48 9
27	76 8	27	49 10
28	75 36	28	50 12
29	75 4	29	51 12
30	74 32	30	52 12
31	73 59	31	53 11
32	73 26	32	54 9
33	72 54	33	55 6
34	72 20	34	56 1
35	71 47	35	57 0
36	71 14	36	57 56
37	70 39	37	58 52
38	70 5	38	59 47
39	69 31	39	60 41
40	68 57	40	61 35
41	68 22	41	62 49
42	67 47	42	63 22
43	67 12	43	64 15
44	66 36	44	65 8
45	66 00	45	66 0

¹ "Pole" is of course a misprint for "Equator."

the main Part of the Ship's Agitation; and if effected will be more easy and universal than this. But as to giving any further Account of that to the Publick, unless it succeed, I have no Intention at all.

N. B. The original Journals are all in the Hands of my great Friend and Patron *Samuel Molyneux*, Esq; Secretary to his Royal Highness, the Prince of *Wales*, and Fellow of the Royal Society: Which Journals,¹ when I have compleated the rest of the Observations I hope to procure, I intend to publish entire, for the more full Satisfaction of the curious.²

[92] N. B. I take the *Northern* Pole of the Terrestrial Magnet to be about the Meridian of *Archangel*, in the Latitude of $75\frac{1}{2}$. Its Equator to be nearly a great Circle, intersecting the Earth's Equator about $2\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees *Eastward* of the Meridian of *London*; and in its opposite Point. And that its utmost Latitude *Northward* is in the Gulph of *Bengall* about $12\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees; and as much *South* in the opposite Point, in the great *South Sea*. And that the *Southern* Pole is nearly circular; its Radius 40 Degrees of a great Circle, and its Center in a Meridian *Eastward* from *Ceilon* about $4\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees, and about $68\frac{1}{2}$ Latitude.

N. B. *London* is nearly $\frac{25}{84}^{\text{5}} = \frac{2}{90}^{\text{3}}$ distance from the *North* Pole of the Magnet, whence its Dip will be at $74^{\circ}\frac{3}{4}$, which is certainly so in Fact. *Boston* in *New-England* is $\frac{51}{111} = \frac{1}{90}^{\text{3}}$, whence its Dip will be about $68^{\circ} 22'$, which Captain *Beal* found to be so in Fact. *Barbados* is about $\frac{26}{108}^{\text{5}} = \frac{22}{90}^{\text{5}}$ distant from the Equator of the Magnet, whence its Dip ought to be about $44^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$, as Captain *Beal* also found it to be in Fact. *St. Helena* is about $\frac{14}{49} = \frac{25}{90}^{\text{7}}$, whence its Dip ought to be about $47^{\circ} 50'$ as Dr. *Halley* found it to be in Fact. And so every where in the main Ocean, at considerable Distances from the Shores.

N. B. If the Dip of any Needles be somewhat different at *London*, add or subtract a proportionable Part of the Dip elsewhere. And you will have nearly the true Dip at any other Place with that Needle. Thus if your Needle differ from the other 2° or $120'$, and shew the Dip at *London* $72^{\circ} 45'$ instead of $74^{\circ} 45'$, which is its proper Dip in this Table; and you require the true Dip by this Needle for [93] *Boston* in *New-England*, *Southward*; which in the Table is $68^{\circ} 22'$, proceed thus. Because the equal Distance of *Boston* from the Magnetick Equator is 49 Parts of $60^{\frac{1}{4}}$, the like Distance of *London* from the Equator; deduct

¹ So far as I have been able to ascertain, these journals were never published.

² Here follows the Table printed in this volume on p. 190.

³ The page is here indistinct.

$\frac{49}{60} \frac{1}{4} 120' = 97' = 1^\circ 37'$ out of the Tabular Dip $68^\circ 22'$. The Remainder is $66^\circ 45'$, for the true Dip at *Boston* with that Needle. Thus if you want the true Dip, by the same Needle, at *Dronthem* in *Norway, Northward*: Because the equal Distance of *Dronthem* from the Magnetick Pole is $15\frac{1}{2}$ Parts of $29\frac{1}{6}$ the Distance of *London* from that Pole; deduct $\frac{15}{29}\frac{1}{6} 12' = 62' = 1^\circ 2'$ out of the Tabular Dip $82^\circ 30'$, and the Remainder, $81^\circ 28'$ is the true Dip at *Dronthem*, with that Needle: And so in all other Cases whatsoever.

N. B. The Table before set down, supposes that the true Dip differs according to such a Line of Sines, whose middle Point gives 66° on one Side, and 24 on the other; and is made by adding or subtracting 8 to the Complement of the Dip found by the natural Sines for every $\frac{1}{50}^1$ of equal Distances from the Equator or Pole.

N. B. If any desire to calculate by Trigonometry the Distances of all Places from the magnetick Equator or Poles, and the Distances of that Equator and those Poles in every particular Case, both made use of in the foregoing Calculations, it is thus to be done:

In the (*Fig. 12.*) Triangle *BLA* we have *BL* the Co-Latitude of *London*; *BA* the Co Latitude of the magnetick *North Pole*; and the included Angle, *ABL* = the Distance of the Meridian of that Pole from the Meridian of *London*; to find the Angle *QAM* and the Side *AL*. Then [94] in the Triangle *QAM*, we have the Angles *QAM* and *QMA*, and the Side *AM*, = the Distance of the Magnetick Pole from the Magnetick Equator, to find *AQ*. So we have the Proportion of *AL* to *AQ*, *Q. E. I.*

But since the *Data* are not yet sufficiently exact for the Calculation, measuring is sufficient.

FINIS.

In 1581 appeared The newe Attractive by Robert Norman. This was the first published work to tell about the dipping or inclinatory feature of the magnetic needle. In the course of the treatise Norman describes an instrument by means of which the degree of the inclination (which he calls declination) of the needle may be ascertained. In Dr. William Gilbert's important work *De Magnete*, published at London in 1600, the author tells of a globular lodestone which he had

¹ The page is here indistinct: perhaps " $\frac{1}{50}$ " was written.

PLAN OF THE DIP of the Tubular Dip. $63^{\circ} 27'$. The figure shows the Dip at Boston with that North. The dip of the horizon is given by the azimuth of the dip circle in North.

Diagram showing the influence of Declination from the meridian. The distance of London from that meridian is $52^{\circ} 40'$. The Dip $63^{\circ} 27'$, and the Declination of the Needle:



The dip angle is given by the formula:

$$\text{Dip} = \arcsin \left(\frac{\sin \delta}{\cos \phi \cos (\lambda - \lambda_0)} \right)$$

where δ is the declination, ϕ is the latitude, and λ is the longitude of the place of observation.

The dip angle is given by the formula:

$$\text{Dip} = \arcsin \left(\frac{\sin \delta}{\cos \phi \cos (\lambda - \lambda_0)} \right)$$

The dip angle is given by the formula:

had expressly made to represent the earth on a miniature scale in his experiments, and which he termed a "terrella." The reader will notice the plural form "terrellæ" in "Some Account of Observations lately made with Dipping-Needles." It may be well to mention here that the dip of the magnetic needle undergoes secular change in the same manner as the declination.¹

William Whiston, the author of the book to which I have referred, was possessed of scholarship of a high order, which is manifested in his works on subjects theological, mathematical, astronomical, and historical. His brilliant intellectual faculties, however, were not supported by an equable temperament or always guided by a sound judgment, so that he was prone to controversy, and over-credulous in adopting theories. He was born December 9, 1667, at Norton in Leicestershire; studied at Cambridge several years, and obtained a fellowship there in 1693. Having been admitted to orders he obtained the living of Lowestoft in Suffolk in 1698, which he resigned in 1701 to become deputy at Cambridge to Sir Isaac Newton, whom he shortly afterwards succeeded as Lucasian professor of mathematics. Having developed a tendency towards Arianism, his heterodoxy at length became so much in evidence that in 1710 he was banished the University of Cambridge. Thenceforth he busied himself in writing books and treatises on subjects of the character I have named. In religious matters his course indicates something of a tendency towards the liberal conditions of more modern times.

As referring to one of Whiston's theological writings of interest to us, I submit the following extract from his Memoirs:

At the End of this Year 1712, I printed Dr. Mather's *Old Paths Restored*, which had been printed the Year before at Boston in New-England; and was an Extract of *Calvinistical Papers*, formerly by him publish'd, with a Preface of my own. Price 3d. I wish our present *Calvinists* would read that Preface.²

In the year 1721 Whiston published *The Longitude and Latitude found by the Inclinary or Dipping Needle*. After stating this in the Memoirs, he thus proceeds:

¹ The material in this paragraph is gathered from "Principal Facts Relating to the Earth's Magnetism," referred to in the text, p. 183, above.

² Memoirs, London, 1749, i. 223. A second edition, containing the portrait here reproduced, was published in 1753.

N. B. After the Publication of this Treatise, I found so much Encouragement from many Benefactors, that I was enabled to procure some New Observations of the Angle of Dip in several Parts of the World, in order to perfect this Discovery; the Substance of which is printed at the end of my *Calculation of Eclipses, without Parallaxes*; of which presently. Which upon the whole cost me a very great deal of Pains, to contrive the Instruments and hang them in Ships, so as to take the Dip, with an Exactness sufficient for my Purpose; but found the Power of Magnetism so very weak, and the Concussion of a Ship so very troublesome, that I had little Hopes of succeeding. And when I knew of Mr. George Graham's new discovery of an *Horary uncertain Inequality*, as I may call it, both in the Variation and Dip of Magnetick Needles, in N° 383 of the Philosophical Transactions, and this as far as half or two thirds of a Degree, if not sometimes of a whole Degree (which last Quantity I once observ'd myself in a Dipping Needle of my own, of almost four Feet long, in the Space of eight Hours) I perceived that all my Labour was in vain, and I was obliged to drop that Design intirely.¹

Again in the Memoirs, after mentioning having published in 1724 The Calculation of Solar Eclipses without Parallaxes, etc., the book hereinbefore referred to, he says:

N. B. This Book has so many Mistakes, that 'till they are corrected, I do not desire to have it spread abroad any longer. I am myself now too old to take Pains in the Review: And as I have heard Sir Isaac Newton say, that no old Men (excepting Dr. Wallis) love Mathematicks: I so may well be excused here, especially when I have been long so busy about Things of much greater Consequence, as the World has long known, and will soon know it more fully, now my *Sacred History of the Old and New Testament*, in Six Volumes, 8vo. is published.²

Whiston was bitterly opposed to the Athanasian Creed. Upon its being read at the Church of England service at which he was present on Trinity Sunday, 1747, he left the service, and withdrew from the communion of that Church. Being of deep religious convictions, he probably attended the public services of some other denominations or had readings and prayers in his own house up to the time of his death on August 22, 1752.

Othniel Beale was a man of note, and had a varied and interesting

¹ Memoirs, i. 296-297.

² i. 315-316.



The Rev. Mr. William Whiston
(Born Decem^r. 1667. Died Aug^t 22. 1752.)

A. W. Elson & Co., Boston

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a rare contemporary print

career.¹ Born in 1689 or 1690, presumably in the British Isles, he followed the sea for some years, and on one of his voyages underwent an extraordinary experience. The story was related by the Rev. Alexander Hewatt in 1779:

AMONG other traders, at this time Othneal Beale commanded a ship in the Carolina trade; and while sailing from Charlestown to London, not being provided with a Mediterranean pass, he was taken by an Algerine rover, who determined to carry him to Barbary, and for this purpose took the English sailors on board, and manned Captain Beale's ship with Algerines, giving them orders to follow him to the Mediterranean sea. Soon after, a storm arising in the night separated the two ships, and Captain Beale being the only person on board that understood navigation, resolved to avail himself of the advantage, and accordingly, instead of sailing for Africa, steered directly for England. Upon his arrival the Algerine sailors were surprised, but not at all displeased; they even confessed to their ambassador the kind usage they had received; upon which Captain Beale had all he lost restored by agreement, together with thanks for his humanity. This bold adventure likewise procured the captain the honour of an introduction to the King, who expressed a desire of seeing him, and ordered Lord Carteret, then Secretary of state, to make him a handsome present on the occasion. This memorable anecdote being published, served to make him a man of address and courage in Carolina, where he afterwards took up his residence, and in time arrived at the chief command of the militia, was made a member of his majesty's council, and died at the age of eighty-five, a rare instance of longevity in that country.²

How long he followed the sea is not known, but he must have abandoned that life within a decade or so after his marriage. In 1738 he was made Captain of a company, and in 1740 Colonel of a regiment, of militia; in 1736 and again in 1745 he was a member of the Commons' House of Assembly, and served on committees; in 1742 he drew up plans for fortifying Charleston against an expected attack by the Spaniards; in 1743 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of Treasurer of the Province; in 1743-44 he responded

¹ For information in regard to Beale, I am again indebted to Mr. Matthews.

² History of South Carolina, i. 311-312. The date of this voyage is not given, but Hewatt is describing events that occurred about 1724. Previous to that time, Beale had married, on March 25, 1722, Katherine Gale at Charleston. Hewatt is slightly mistaken in regard to Beale's age: see page 196 note 1, below.

to an appeal made by the Rev. Alexander Garden, the commissary of the Bishop of London, for contributions with which to build a schoolhouse where "negro and Indian children might be sent for education without charge to the masters and owners." In 1755 Beale became a member of the Council; and in 1770 he presided when the Council sent a message to the Commons resenting the appropriation by the House of the sum of £10,500, which was notoriously a contribution for the payment of the expenses of John Wilkes while in prison and of his debts. He died on March 22, 1773, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.¹

In my paper *A Forgotten Prime Meridian*,² I have told of some of the attempts to reach a method of finding longitude at sea by means of the amount of the declination of the magnetic needle. Whiston's object was to accomplish the same purpose, and to find latitude also, by means of ascertaining the amount of the inclination of that needle. As stated in my paper *Winthrop's Course across the Atlantic*,³ in the year 1714 a reward of £20,000 was offered by Act of Parliament for the discovery of a method of determining the longitude to one-half of a degree of a great circle. It was in Whiston's nature to be glad to perform any service for the benefit of his fellow-men; but it is reasonable to suppose that to gain the reward above mentioned was more or less his motive in the undertaking he has described. Had he succeeded he would well have deserved that re-

¹ His wife died January 4, 1774. He and his wife were buried in the cemetery of St. Philip's Church, and in 1788 their son John (who married Mary Ross) erected to their memory in the church (which was destroyed by fire on February 15, 1835) a monument from which the above dates are taken. On August 17, 1746, Othniel Beale's daughter Hannah married William Bull, Jr. Born in 1710, Bull became Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina in 1759, frequently administered the government between 1760 and 1775, retired to England in 1780, and there died in 1791. See E. McCrady, *History of South Carolina, 1719-1776*, pp. 61, 175, 246, 288, 683, 684, 801; W. R. Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719-1776*, pp. 178, 199, 202-206, 218-219, 312, 316; Mrs. Ravenel, *Charleston: the Place and the People*, pp. 88, 91-92, 169; *City of Charleston Year Book for 1880*, p. 271; A. S. Salley, Jr., *Register of St. Philip's Parish, Charles Town, 1720-1758*, pp. 62, 111, 152, 184; *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, i. 84-85, ii. 134 note, 136. An attempt to find a portrait of Othniel Beale in Charleston or elsewhere has not met with success.

² Publications of this Society, xii. 382.

³ xii. 192.

ward in full. But the means of ascertaining longitude with adequate accuracy was only to come with the perfecting of marine time-keepers a few years after the middle of the eighteenth century. Whiston's reference in his Memoirs to his publication *The Longitude and Latitude found by the Inclinator or Dipping Needle*, already quoted,¹ shows that he had come to realize that his method of finding longitude was utterly impracticable. But he should have our gratitude for the observation which he caused to be taken here at Boston; for that act enured to the benefit of science, and has enabled the experts to carry Boston's magnetic curve back to the early date named.

On behalf of Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE, Mr. Henry H. Edes read the following paper:

WILLIAM WHISTON AND COTTON MATHER

Cotton Mather's distinguished list of correspondents included the name of William Whiston; and at one time, according to Samuel Mather's Life of his father, it contained the names of as many as "fifty beyond Sea to whom he was obliged to spend considerable Time in writing." Samuel again speaks of his father's foreign correspondents among whom are "Those learned Mathematicians and Philosophers Mr. WHISTON and Dr. DESAGULIERS,² have written familiarly to him, and with Expressions of Love and Honor for him."

Whiston in his own Memoirs, written late in life, and published first in 1749, and then in 1753, makes an interesting statement concerning a tract of Cotton Mather's. The entry is quoted in full in the valuable paper just read by Mr. Ware;³ and it gives the information that Mr. Whiston at the end of 1712 reprinted Cotton Mather's *Old Paths Restor'd* (Boston, 1711), "with a Preface of my own," and expressed the hope that "our present *Calvinists* would read that preface."

A copy of the 1711 edition of *Old Paths* is in the Boston Athenæum; and a copy of the 1712 edition is in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Because of the interest attaching

¹ See pp. 193-194, above.

² John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744).

³ Page 193, above.

to them at this time, as well as for their rarity, the following bibliographical description is given. It will be seen that the work was not new to the author nor to the world, as parts of two works published several years before had been used.

The Old Pathes Restored. |—| In a brief Demonstration, | That | The Doctrines of Grace hitherto | Preserved in the Churches of the | Non-Conformists, are not | only Asserted in the Sacred Scrip-|tures, but also in the Articles | and Homilies of the Church of | England; | and | That the General Departure from | those Doctrines, Especially in those | who have Subscribed them, is a most | Unaccountable Apostasy. |—| Extracted from some things formerly | Published; And Contrived into a | single Sheet, for the Use of some that | want & ask, for the Armour of Christia-|nity, against the Seducers of the Evil | Time. |—|| Boston: Printed and Sold by T. Green, in | Middle Street, 1711. 12mo. pp. (2), 24. Signatures A, B, in 6s.

Collation: title-page; verso, "Reverendo admodum, | clarissimoque viro, | D. Joanni Edvardio,¹ | . . .² | C. M. S. T. D," in twenty-six lines; 1-4, "The | Doctrines of Grace, | Held by the Old and the True | Church of England"; 5-8, "The Doctrines of Grace, Laid before the | Churches, in the very Words, of the | Articles and Homilies, of the Church of | England"; 8-13, "Coronis"; 14-21, "How the Men who Deny and Oppose these | Doctrines, can pretend to be of, the Church | of England, is a little Wonderful! But it is | needful to Demonstrate, that these Doctrines | are Built on a Greater Authority than the | Church of England. The Pelagian and Ar-| minian Errors prevailing at this Day, are to | be struck with more awful Thunderbolts | — | Supplies from the Tower of David; by which the Doctrines of Grace are to be Defended and | Maintained"; 22-23, "¶ The Desires of a Man | Sensible of what belongs | to Man"; 24, "A Passage of the Reverend Dr. John Ed-|wards, a Famous Divine of the Church of | England; in his Preacher, part 2. p. 176, 177."

Pages 1 to 13 of Old Pathes Restored were reprinted from A Seasonable Testimony, which Mather published in 1702, but with a different heading, and without the last two pages (14 and 15) of this tract as described below:

¹ Rev. John Edwards (1637-1716).

² This Latin inscription to Dr. Edwards is reprinted line for line in the London edition in the collation of which it is given below in full (p. 200), though with two slight changes.

|—|—| A Seasonable Testimony | To the Glorious | Doctrines of Grace, | At this Day many ways undermined | in the World. |—| Considered, by a General Convention of | Ministers, Meeting at Boston, May 28th. | 1702. And Voted by them, to be Pub-|lished, for the Establishment of the | Churches in the present Truth. |—| 8vo. pp. 15. Signature A in 8.

Collation: 1–13, heading, text as reprinted in *Old Pathes Restored*, Boston, 1711, and the London print of 1712; 14–15, in which Mather writes that “Books of an Antinomian Tendency, do also creep in among us, it appears necessary with an equal Fervency to Advise all the people of God against those Doctrines, which turn the Grace of God into wantonness” . . . [colophon] Boston: | Printed in the Year, 1702; 1 p. blank.

Mather records in his Diary that the Convention voted to publish his speeches “as their Testimony.” He was fearful lest the churches of New England and “our younger clergy” should “be poisoned by vile Pelagian Books that from beyond sea are vended among us.”

Pages 14 to 23 of *Old Pathes Restored* were reprinted from Mather’s *Man of God Furnished* (Boston, 1708), in which part “III. Supplies from the Tower of Dvaid,” with a separate title-page given below, includes pages 47 to 127:

Supplies from the Tower of | David. |—| A | Catechism | Which Arms | Christians of all Ages to Refute the | Errors which most commonly | assault the cause of Christianity | and | To Preserve the Faith once delivered | unto the Saints. | In seven Essays. |—| [six lines from 2 Peter, III. 17.] |—| Boston: Printed for S. Phillips. 1708.

Of this part of *Man of God*, pages 93 to 102, “[Armour against the Wiles of | Pelagianism.]|—| Essay IV. Free-Grace in Triumph,” were reprinted in *Old Pathes*, with a new heading.

The Old Paths Restored. |—| In a brief Demonstration, | that | The Doctrines of Grace hitherto Pre- | served in the Churches of the Non-|conformists, are not only Assert-|ed in the Sacred Scriptures, but | also in the Articles and Homilies | of the Church of England; | and | That the General Departure from those | Doctrines, Especially in those who have | Subscribed them, is a most Unaccountable | Apostasy. |—| Extracted from some things formerly Pub-|lish’d; And Contrived into a single Sheet, for the | Use of some that want and ask, for the Armour of | Christianity, against the Seducers of this Evil Time. |—| Boston,

Printed and Sold by T. Green, in | Middle-Street, 1711. And Reprinted at London; | 1712. with a Preface, by Will. Whiston, A. M. |—| To be Sold by A. Baldwin near the Oxford-Arms in | Warwick-Lane. Price 3d. 16mo. pp. (3), (8), 24. Signatures, A-C, in 6s.

Collation: title-page, surrounded by two border lines; verso, "To the very Reverend | and famous | John Edwards, D.D. | The most acute Defender | Of that Theology which | The Old and True Church of England | formerly profess'd; | As well as most Faithful Preacher | of the Ancient Faith; | And the most Learned and Happy | Restorer of that Evangelical Truth | which had almost forsaken the Earth. | This small Essay | On the behalf of Calvinism; | [The very Suspicion of the | loss whereof drew | those lamentable Words | from the celebrated Du Moulin, | The Christian Religion | is lost in England!] | As a Testimonial of Great | Honour and Affection is, | with all due Respect | Presented and Dedicated by | C. M. D. D.," in twenty-five lines;¹ 1 p., "Reverendo admodum, | Clarissimoque Viro, | D. Joan. Edvardio, | S. S. Theologiae Professori, | Ejusdemque Theologiæ, | (Et quam Vetus ac Vera Ecclesia Anglicana | olim coluit,) Acerrimo Defensori; | Atque Antiquæ Fidei Concionatori Fidelissimo; | Evangelicæque Veritatir | (quæ Terras fere reliquerat) | Doctissimo & Faustissimo Reductori; | Hæc pro Calvinismo; | [Ob quem amissum, | Celeberrimi Molinæi, | Justissima | suspicio, mæstissimumque | fuit suspirium, | Actum est de Religione Christi | apud Anglos!] | Tentamina, Parva Licet, | at non Parvi | Honoris ac Amoris Testimonia, | Eo quo par est affectu, | inscribit, dedicatque, | C. M. S. T. D," Latin dedication, of which the preceding page is a translation; 1 p. blank; 8 pp. "To the Reader" [given in full below]; 1-24, a reprint, almost page for page and line for line, of the tract of 1711, described above.

Mr. Whiston's preface is as follows:

TO THE READER.

MEETING accidentally with the following Paper, printed at Boston in New-England, and Dedicated to Dr. Edwards of Cambridge with us, I could not but think it very well worth the Reprinting here, as not a little remarkable; as by no means unworthy the Perusal of the Members of the Church of England, and of even the Convocation it self; which accordingly I do here present to the Reader. Not that I at all believe the main part of the Doctrine therein containd; that being next to impossible for any one to do that is so much in

¹ Of two copies of this edition in the British Museum, one has, the other has not, this translation of the Latin dedication on the verso of the title-page.

Love with a Rational Religion, and has so great a Regard to the Original Writings of Christianity, with so mean an Opinion of the Modern Systems of Divinity, as I have; but because here we may be taught many excellent Things. For hence we may Learn,

(1) *How easily Mens Persons are had in Admiration because of Advantage, or [2] Party-Regards: while Dr. Edwards of Cambridge, on Account of his retaining still the Scheme of Calvin, without actually leaving the Church of England, shall be so admir'd, and caressed, and celebrated at the Distance of New-England, as if he were the grand Pillar and Support of the Church, and of pure Christianity among us: altho' those that are acquainted with either his Character, or real Original Primitive Learning at home, can see no sufficient Reason for those mighty Encomiums. Such immense Merit is it with a Professor of a Church of the Calvinist Persuasion, for a Divine of the Church of England, to have ventured boldly to oppose the most able and learned Members of the same Church in Defence of Calvinism.*

(2) *We hence Learn, What some Men call the Old Paths of Christianity, I mean that late System which almost began with Austin in the fifth, and was reviv'd and establish'd by Calvin in the sixteenth Century: How soon Parties once form'd settle themselves in their novel Notions, and then imagin they are the Original Ways of the [3] Gospel; In how little time some plain mistakes of our first Reformers are ready to become Standards of Religion; That Protestants, whose Foundation is built on fair Examination, and Correction of what is amiss in the Church, can be almost as averse to any Review or Amendment of their first imperfect Settlements, as the Papists; and that such men as Luther and Calvin are by many allow'd in a manner an equal Infallibility with that the Popes and Councils lay Claim to in the Antichristian Church.*

(3) *We hence Learn how easily any Party may apply Texts of Scripture to preconceiv'd Opinions, with some seeming shew of Truth; while yet at the bottom 'tis certain from other undoubted Testimonies in the same Scriptures, and in all other Antiquity, that those Opinions were never once dream'd of in the first times of the Gospel. And this is the more to be remark'd here by me, because it seems to be the very Case in the modern Explications of the Trinity in Unity, as well as the Notions of Calvin; since the Orthodox, who have been educated therein alledg several [4] Texts in the same manner, with some seeming shew of Truth; while yet at the bottom 'tis certain in fact that those Nations were not owned in the first Ages of the Gospel, but came in with Marcellus and Athanasius in the fourth Century. I desire the present Maintainers of that Doctrine, those of them I mean that have rejected Calvinism, to consider whether the Patrons of absolute Election*

and Reprobation have not full as much seeming Countenance from the New-Testament for the Calvinist, as themselves have for the Athanasian Hypothesis: And if so, that they will either retain both, or reject both at the same time: since, I suppose, they will own that neither of them can pretend to the least Support from humane Reason, or any other method of Demonstration. We hence Learn,

(4) How much Stress some Parties, that pretend to follow only Divine Guidance and Authority, can, upon occasion, lay on the Opinions of the Church of England; and how sad and unaccountable an Apostacy the receding from some of our 39 Articles can be esteem'd, even by those that have [5] not the least Regard to others of them; and that the Deserting the former Calvinism of our Church, even under the very Name, can easily be look'd on as no less a Crime than forsaking Christianity it self.

(5) We hence Learn, How the several Churches in Christendom, even the Protestants as well as the Papists, are ready still in general to set up their Rest in Humane Authority, and the bare Opinions of Men, even in Divine Matters, without any constant Original Recourse to the Sacred Scriptures, and the most primitive Fathers. Thus does our Author and Du Moulin here directly follow Calvin, and look on Calvinism, even under that very Name, as essential to Christianity. They follow the Articles of the Church of England, and her Homilies; and then at last some misapplyd Texts of Scripture are brought in to patronize their Notions. Just so did the famous Dr. Sacheverel prove the Doctrine of unlimited Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, by an Enumeration of Passages, which only shewed that such had been the Current Court Doctrine in some few late [6] Reigns in this Kingdom: while if they had but look'd elsewhere, or gone over Sea, they might have found enow, even Protestant Divines of another Opinion. Just so also do our present Disputants commonly do about the Validity or Invalidity of Dissenters and Lay-persons Baptism. They collect the Opinions of several late Churches or Persons, and think thereby to determin the point. Whereas all such Opinions, destitute of some certain Sacred Authority, are of no more real Value, for the Satisfaction of the Conscience, in that or any the like Case, than the Opinions of the School-men and Aristotelians about Astronomy or the Heavenly Motions, when destitute of Observations and Mathematick Demonstrations, can be esteem'd satisfactory to the Reason of Mankind. To the Law and to the Testimony: If they speak not according to this Word, it is because there is no Light in them.

(6) To conclude, We may hence principally Learn the great Necessity there is for laying aside all such human and fallible Rules as our 39 Articles; not only as to [7] the points I have been chiefly concern'd in, but as to others also. 'Tis certain those Articles favor the Doctrines of Calvin; and 'tis

as certain that the Body of the Members of our Church do not now believe those Doctrines; nay do vehemently oppose them. Yet do we seem resolv'd against Alterations in general; and so go on in what is too like to Open Prevarication (pardon the Plainness of the Expression) in these most sacred matters, from one Generation to another: While it is still own'd to be at least equally in the present Churches Power, upon better Consideration, to lay aside such things now, as it was for her formerly to impose them. Certainly 'tis time at least to reduce our Articles to our Opinions; and no longer to give a handle to our own Consciences, and to call our Enemies to reproach us on this Account. And if what I have heard be true that the Church of Geneva, it self which set a too early Example of Subscriptions to uncertain human Articles among Protestants, has laid that method wholly aside, it will be a great shame for us not to do the same our selves, and thereby to take [8] away that Burden which lies now on the Conscience of the Members, and chiefly of the Clergy of this Church, which neither we nor our Fathers have been able to bear; and which is principally felt by the best and most Consciencious of our Communion: Those being usually the most fond of imposing and taking doubtful Oaths and Subscriptions, who have the least Regard to them after they are taken; and those least forward to come under such Snares, who are most careful in those and all other points to keep Consciences void of Offence towards God and towards Men: which 'tis certainly very hard to do amidst such numerous, uncertain, and dangerous Obligations as almost all the present Churches lay upon their Members.

Decemb. 15. 1712.

Will. Whiston.

Whiston in this Preface has given the reason for reprinting the Mather tract, not because "I at all believe the main part of the Doctrine therein containd," "but because here we may be taught many excellent Things." It is not at all unlikely that at times the correspondence between Mather and Whiston became strongly controversial. Mather in his Diary speaks of "My Learned Friend Whiston," who "is likely to raise a prodigious Dust in the world, by Reviving Arian Opinions." A few years later, it appears that Mather was stirred to the point of writing a book against Whiston, as the following facts will show.

Samuel Mather says that his father left several "(Treatises or rather) great Performances," which he never succeeded in publishing to the world; and it was his "frequent Wonder that those Composures he wrote with the least Trouble and Care, found a Passage

into the World, while many of his elaborate Composures lay by him." One of these "great Performances" is here described by the son:

His *Goliathus detruncatus*, had as sad a Fate. The Book was written against Mr. WHISTON: The Design of it was to show, that most of the *Antenicene Fathers* were orthodox and not *Arian*, contrary to that learned Man's gross Mistake: It was written in an *Epistolary Way*: Dr. EDWARDS a famous Divine of the *Church of England* was bringing it into the World, and had written a *Preface* to it; but Dr. EDWARDS dying¹ when it was upon the brink of appearing, the *Work* was bro't to a *full Stop*, and I have not heard where the *Letter* is disposed of.²

On behalf of Mr. DENISON R. SLADE, a Corresponding Member, Mr. Matthews exhibited a photograph of the head of Richard Clarke taken from Copley's large painting of the Clarke family in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; and communicated a copy of the will of Richard Clarke, Copley's father-in-law.³ The will follows.

I Richard Clarke⁴ formerly of Boston in New England merchant but now residing in George Street Hanover Square Westminster do make and ordain this to be my last will and Testament. I commit myself to the infinite mercy of Almighty God through the merits and mediation of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ praying through Him to obtain the pardon of my Sins and a Resurrection to Eternal Life. I will and direct that my Body be interred in a frugal manner I desire my Executors to send to my good friend Joseph Lee⁵ Esquire of Cambridge New England a Ring which I request his acceptance of as a token of my Grateful sense of the Long and Constant ffriendship he has favored me with. I do hereby give and bequeath to my daughter Mrs. Susannah Copley a Gold watch and Chain which were her mothers.⁶ I do hereby give and bequeath to my said daughter Mrs. Susannah Copley and to

¹ He died April 16, 1716.

² S. Mather, Life of C. Mather, p. 73.

³ Richard Clarke died at London on February 27, 1795, "at the House of his Son-in-law, J. S. Copley, Esq. in the 84th year of his age" (Morning Chronicle, London, March 3, 1795, p. 4/1).

⁴ Richard Clarke graduated at Harvard College in 1729.

⁵ Joseph Lee graduated at Harvard College in 1729.

⁶ Mrs. Copley's mother was Elizabeth (Winslow) Clarke.

her heirs a sum equal to three hundred pounds Bank Stock at the rate said Stock shall at the time of my decease to be paid by my Son-in-law John Singleton Copley Esquire out of the sum which he may then be indebted to me by Bond Note or Account. I do hereby give and bequeath to my said Son-in-law John Singleton Copley Esqr. whatever he may be indebted to me by Bond Note or Account more than the amount of the value of the three hundred pounds Bank Stock to be paid by him to my daughter Mrs. Susannah Copley or her heirs from all which said Sum or Sums I do hereby release and acquit him excepting the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds sterl^g. which I do hereby reserve for my Grand daughter Mrs. Sarah Cabot¹ on his giving my son Isaac Winslowe Clarke Executor of the will of his brother Jonathan Clarke a release of the Sum of three hundred pounds which the said Jonathan bequeathed to his sister² to be paid at my decease which sum I have already paid my said son in law. I do hereby give and bequeath to my son in law Mr. Charles Startin of New York all which he stands indebted to me for by my Book of Account for which I do hereby acquit and release him as my daughter Mrs. Sarah Startin has become possessed of a farm and house in Lancaster and of sundry other tracts of land the late property of my Grandson Edward Clarke who died in his minority which said property became mine in Equity but my right to it being contested by Mr. John Watson and my claim of possession being adjudged invalid on account of my being deemed an alien my attorney judged it best to put an end to the Contest with Mr. Watson by paying him 1500 dollars of my money invested in the 6 p. cent funds of the United States of America in which sum I include the £100 bequeathed her by my late son Edward Clarke if his son Edward should die during his minority and whereas my said daughter Mrs. Sarah Startin will become entitled on my decease £300 sterling which is secured by a mortgage on the house of John Singleton Copley Esqr. in Saint George Street Hanover Square to my son I. W. Clarke Executor of the will of his late Brother Jonathan Clarke I find that as my property has lately been much reduced I can only give her the sum of Sixty pounds of my Bank [] which I do hereby give and bequeath her, and I hope and trust that she will be assured of my truly affectionate regard to her. I give and bequeath to my Granddaughter Mrs. Sarah Cabot one hundred and fifty pounds sterl^g. to be paid out of a debt which my son in law John Singleton Copley owes me. I give and bequeath to my Granddaughter Elizabeth

¹ Richard Clarke's daughter Mary married Samuel Barrett, and their daughter Sarah married Samuel Cabot.

² Presumably Mrs. Mary (Clarke) Barrett.

Bromfield¹ one hundred pounds New England Currency which my late son Edward Clarke bequeathed to her late mother, if his son Edward should die during his minority. I give and bequeath to my son in law Henry Bromfield² Esqr. of Harvant³ in New England one hundred pounds of the Currency of the United States of America. I do hereby give and bequeath to my son Isaac Winslow Clarke Esqr. after my debts and funeral charges are paid all my remaining property Consisting in Bank Stock or otherwise. I do hereby constitute and appoint my son Isaac Winslow Clarke Esqr. my son in law John Singleton Copley Esqr. and Mr. Henry Bromfield Junr.⁴ of London merchts. to be the Executors of this my last will and Testament, and I do hereby give Mr. Henry Bromfield, Junr. Twenty pounds. Westminster in the county of Middlesex the Eleventh day of December in the year of Our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and ninety four. I do hereby declare this to be my last will and Testament and do hereby revoke any former wills.

RICHARD CLARKE.

On 2 June 1795 appeared George Erving⁵ of George Street Hanover Square Esq. and John Singleton Copley the younger⁶ of George Street in the parish of St. George Hanover Square and made oath as to their knowledge of the testator and that the will was in his writing.

Will proved 5 June 1795 by John Singleton Copley Esq. with power reserved to the other executors.⁷

The Rev. HENRY A. PARKER read extracts from a pamphlet printed at London in 1642 describing Lord Forbes's expedition to Ireland of that year, and said that the pamphlet was doubtless written by Hugh Peters.⁸

¹ Elizabeth Bromfield, who later married Daniel Denison Rogers, was the daughter of Col. Henry Bromfield by his second wife Hannah Clarke, a daughter of Richard Clarke.

² Col. Henry Bromfield (1727-1820).

³ Doubtless the copyist's error for "Harvard."

⁴ Henry Bromfield, Jr., was a son of Col. Henry Bromfield by his first wife Margaret Fayerweather.

⁵ George Erving graduated at Harvard College in 1757.

⁶ Later Baron Lyndhurst.

⁷ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Newcastle, 372. There were no witnesses.

⁸ There is a copy of this pamphlet in the British Museum, though it is not entered in the catalogue under Peters's name. It is ascribed to Peters by C. H. Firth in his sketch of Peters in the Dictionary of National Biography. As apparently no American library contains a copy of the pamphlet, its title is given in part:

A True | Relation | of the | Passages of | Gods Providence in a | Voyage for

Mr. MATTHEWS communicated the following paper, written by Mr. Alfred B. Page:

JOHN TULLEY'S ALMANACKS, 1687-1702

The earliest series of American almanacs covering any considerable period of years is that prepared by John Tulley, issued from 1687 to 1702 inclusive. Of this series no complete set is found in any library, though the collection in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society lacks only the issue for 1694. The American Antiquarian Society possesses most of the series and the Boston Public Library has many of them. The Brinley set, although remarkably complete, lacked the issues for the years 1694 and 1695; and of the number for 1687 Mr. J. H. Trumbull wrote as follows:

The *first* of the very popular series of Almanacs made by John Tulley. They are all — but especially the earlier years — EXTREMELY RARE. This Almanac for 1687 was the first New-England almanac in which the holidays of the Episcopal church were entered in the calendar, and the first that began the year with the month of January. Opposite to Jan. 30, is the entry, “King Charles murdered.”¹

Though all of Tulley's Almanacks were published at Boston, he was of Saybrook in Connecticut, and his publications may be considered as an early contribution to the literature emanating from that Colony.

While it is impracticable to reproduce here each title-page in facsimile, care has been taken to furnish a fairly close typographical reproduction in each case as far as is necessary for purposes of comparison and identification. To furnish such a basis is the object of this list. The excessive rarity of all these numbers warrants full extracts from their contents so far as they afford examples of the information and reading matter supplied to the readers.

These Almanacks were each printed on a single sheet of paper, with the exception of those for 1688, 1692, 1693, and 1695, each of

Ireland. | With | The Additionall *Forces* sent for reducing of | that Kingdome by his Maiesie | and *Parliament* | Wherein every Dayes worke is set downe faithfully by H. P. an | Eye-witnesse thereof, under the Command of Alexander | L. Forbes, *Lieutenant Generall* under the L. Brooke | for that *Service*; from the 29. of June to the | 29. of September. 1642. | . . . | London | Printed by Luke Norton, for Henry Overton. | in the Yeare. MDCXLII.

¹ Brinley Catalogue, i. 92. Cf. iv. 163.

which has 12 leaves and carries signature marks; and of that for 1694, which also has 12 leaves but is without signature marks. This statement holds true if the known copies of each year's issues are complete; for it is possible that in the case of those numbers indicated as containing 8 leaves only, a copy may sometime be found which contains more leaves.

1687

Tulley 1687. | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of Our LORD, | MDCLXXXVII. | Being the third after Leap-year, | and from the Creation | 5636. | *The Vulgar Notes of which are* |

*Prime 16 } { Cicle of the ☽ 16 |
Exact 26 } { Domin: Letter. B |*

Unto which is annexed a Weather-Glass, whereby the | Change of the Weather may be foreseen. | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston in | New-England, where the North Pole is elevated 42. | gr. 30 m. | By John Tulley.

Boston, Printed by S. Green for Benjamin | Harris; and are to be Sold at his | Shop, by the Town Pump near the Change | 1687.

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. LC. MHS.¹

The Weather-Glass comprises a page and a half of the last leaf under the title "Prognostica Georgica: Or the Country-mans Weather-Glass;" and this collection of observations forms a very early contribution to the study of meteorology in America.

At the bottom of the last page appears an "Advertisement" as to "the good settling" of a market in Boston, as follows:

¹ The following list explains these abbreviations. An asterisk following an abbreviation denotes an imperfect copy:

- AAS = American Antiquarian Society
- BPL = Boston Public Library
- EDC = E. D. Church Collection
- ADF = A. D. Foster Collection
- H = Harvard College Library
- LC = Library of Congress
- MHS = Massachusetts Historical Society
- NYHS = New York Historical Society

There is Appointed by Authority a Market to be kept in Boston, and a Committee is ordered to meet and state the place, and days, and other circumstances relating to the good settling thereof: Of which a more particular Account may be speedily expected.¹

1688

Tulley 1688. | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of Our LORD, | MDCLXXXVIII. | [9 lines.] | By John Tulley. | *Imprimatur Edw. Randolph.* Secr.

BOSTON, | Printed by Samuel Green. | 1688.

16mo. 8ll. + pp. [15]-22. Signature [A] in 8 leaves, B in 4. AAS (8ll). LC (8ll). MHS.

In the table of "Chronology," following the calendar pages in this number, the main item of interest is the entry "Since the Arrival of his Excellency SIR EDMOND ANDROSSE Knight, Governour of His Majesties Territories of New-England: Decemb. 20. 1686. 2 [years]."

Signature B comprises pp. [15]-22, which follow the preceding 16 unnumbered pages of the Almanack proper, and the first page of the signature should rightly have been numbered 17. These pages are devoted to an unusual contribution entitled —

A

PROGNOSTICATION

For the Year 1688. Calculated for the Meridian of BOSTON; and may without any sensible Error serve for any other place in NEW-ENGLAND.

*Thus Reader, by our Astrologick Art,
Future Events we unto thee impart;
But yet 'tis with this Reservation, tho'
If they come not to pass, we'd have them do:
For all Predictions do to this belong,
That Either they are right, or they are wrong.*

¹ This advertisement is quoted in Drake's History and Antiquities of Boston (1857), p. 474 note. There was a market in Boston as early as 1634, but there was much opposition to one. See Drake, pp. 166, 334, 555, 596, 610-611; Memorial History of Boston, ii. 462 note.

There can be no question as to these additional pages of signature B having been issued with some copies of the Tulley Almanack for this year, although of the copies that have been preserved only one contains these pages. That copy is the one belonging to Judge Samuel Sewall and has been saved intact. It bears two notes in his handwriting, one on the title-page reading "Bought of Benj. Harris Jan⁴ 168⁷/₈," and the other at the foot of page 22 which reads "No Cambridge-Almanack this year." These two contemporary memoranda, coming at the beginning and end of the Almanack, show that the two signatures were published together in the same pamphlet. It is plain that the Prognostication was intended to accompany some New England almanac for 1688, and, so far as we know, there was none other than Tulley's for that year.

It is entirely possible that some or many of the copies were issued without the additional pages. To a willing mind it is permissible to discover in this Prognostication and the accompanying Observations and verses the hand of Benjamin Harris. His talents were exercised in directions not now capable of proof, perhaps, but of which a strong probability exists. Sufficient extracts from the Prognostication have been printed elsewhere.¹

As to the accuracy of his forecasts, the author humbly says, "antient Writers have been often deceived about the Weather, and therefore I do desire a charitable censure concerning it."

The instructions for the computation of the time of tides are simple and expressed in these words:

The last Colume in each Page sheweth the time of Full Sea or High-water at *Boston*, which agreeth with the time of Full Sea or High-Water at *Say-Brook*; but it flows sooner without the Bar at least three quarters of an hour, and Mariners going in or out may hereby be informed to mind the Tide.

Skill in orthography neither was, nor is, a necessary qualification for skilful navigators, and this "last Colume" is indifferently headed in these pages "ful sea," "Ful sea," "full sea," or "full se."

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, viii. 21-22.

1689

Tulley 1689. | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of Our
LORD, MDC LXXXIX. | [9 lines.] | By John Tulley. | Im-
primatur Edw. Randolph. Secr:

BOSTON, | Printed by Samuel Green, | and are to be Sold at
his house over- | against the South-Meeting-House. | 1689.

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. LC. MHS.

On the verso of the title-leaf, below the account "Of the Eclipses,
1689." is given "A Table shewing the time of Full sea, or High Water
at Boston and Say-brook." This is the earliest case in this series of
almanacs where the tides are given in tabular form.

1690

Tulley, 1690. | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of our
LORD | MDCXC. | [9 lines.] | By John Tulley.

Boston Printed and Sold by Samuel | Green, near the South Church.
| 1690.

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. BPL. ADF. LC. MHS.

The last leaf contains remarks "Of the Rain-bow: Whence it is,
and what it signifieth." and "Of Thunder and Lightning."

At the bottom of the last page is advertised "Aqua-antitorminalis,"
"With Printed Directions for the use of it. Sold by Benjamin Harris
at the London Coffee House in Boston." It is doubtful if a copy of
these directions has been preserved.

1691

Tulley. 1691. | AN ALMANACK | For the Year of
our LORD, | MDCXCI. | [9 lines.] | By John Tulley.

C A M B R I D G E. | Printed by Samuel Green, and B. Green: |
And are to be Sold, by Nicholas Buttolph, | at Gutteridg's Coffee-
House in Boston. 1691.

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. BPL. H. LC. MHS.*

This Almanack and the one for the following year were printed at Cambridge for the Boston booksellers, instead of being printed in Boston. Trumbull says:

Samuel Green Jun., the Boston printer, died, July, 1690. The Almanac for 1691 [and that for 1692] was printed by *his father* and younger brother (Bartholomew) in Cambridge.¹

The verso of the title-leaf comprises an account “*Of Eclipses of the SUN | and MOON.*” and the last leaf, “*PROGNOSTICKES | or Presages of the weather | by the Sun, Moon, & Stars,*” as well as a new feature “*A TABLE of Expence.*”

1692

Tulley 1692. | AN | ALMANACK | For the YEAR of our LORD, | MDCCXCII. | [10 lines.] | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of | BOSTON in New England, where the North | Pole is Elevated 42. gr. 30. min. But may | indifferently serve any part of New-England. | By John Tulley.

CAMBRIDGE. | Printed by Samuel Green, & Bartholomew Green, | for Samuel Phillips, and are to be Sold | at his Shop at the West end of the | Exchange in Boston. 1692.

16mo. 8ll. + pp. [1]-7. (1). Signature mark B at foot of page [1]. AAS. BPL.* LC.* MHS. NYHS.

On the verso of the title-leaf is given “*The Explanation of the Use | of the Following TABLE,*” and this table constitutes the first half of the second leaf. The table gives the time of the rising and setting of the sun on “the 1. 6. 11. 16. 21. 26. day of each Moneth,” and the time of the “Northing” of the two “Pointers (two Stars by some called the Guards of the great Bear).”

Following the unnumbered calendar pages are pages [1]-7 which contain “*Astronomicall Observations | of the Weather & Winds from | the Planets & their Aspects.*” In the lower half of page 3 is found a

¹ Brinley Catalogue, i. 92

typographical diagram under the heading "Of the Spring Quarter," showing "*The Suns Ingresse into Aries, March 9th. 1692.*"

The last page comprises the following:

Advertisement.

There may Speedily be Published a little Book, Entituled, *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion: Or, The Character & Happiness of a Vertuous Woman. A Discourse, which with an Acceptable Variety may Entertain Women of all qualities, & in all Conditions, with such Things as may Conduce to their Temporal & Eternal Welfare. By a Reverend Divine of BOSTON.*

Sold by Samuel Phillips.

This book was by Cotton Mather, and there were several editions, the first of which was printed at Cambridge in 1691 for Samuel Phillips the Boston bookseller. Undoubtedly this edition is the one advertised.

1693

Tulley 1693 | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of our LORD, | MDCXCIII. | [14 lines.] | By John Tulley

Boston Printed, by Benjamin Harris at the | London-Coffee-House. 1693. |

16mo. 12ll. Sigs. [A], B, C, in 4's. The line at the foot of the last page reads "Sold by *Benjamin Harris.*" AAS. ADF.* LC. MHS.

Besides the usual information, this number contains "*A Brief discourse of the Natural Causes of Watry Meteors, as Snow, Hail, Rain &c.,*" and an "*Advertisement*" of Mather's "*The Wonders of the Invisible World.*" The poetical contribution is comprised in four stanzas entitled "*Some few Lines by another Hand, we shall leave to the Interpretation of Time, & the Intelligent READER.*" There is reason to suspect that Harris, the printer and bookseller, was the author of the verses running through this series and that he served on other occasions as the people's poet of his time, although hitherto he has not been regarded as a maker of verses.¹

¹ In Mr. A. D. Foster's collection is a volume containing many almanacs from 1690 to 1747, one bearing the title in part as follows:

BOSTON | ALMANACK | FOR THE | Year of our LORD GOD. | 1692 | [12 lines.] | The Second Impression. | By H B | Boston, Printed by Benjamin

Another variety of the Almanack for this year has the imprint:

Boston Printed, by Benjamin Harris for | Samuel Phillips. 1693.

The line at the foot of the last page reads "Sold by *Samuel Phillips.*"
MHS.

Still another variety of the 1693 Almanack has the same imprint as noted in the second example just above, but the line at the foot of the last page in this specimen reads "Sold by *Benjamin Harris.*" BPL.

In all these examples signature C was printed on a different paper from the earlier leaves, and there were two varieties as far as the line at the bottom of the last page is concerned. Care was not taken always to select the proper variety to correspond with the imprint on the title-page. This issue of the series is the first to give a rude typemetal cut showing the signs of the zodiac.

Of more interest to the attorneys and barristers was a leaf headed "**A Table of the Courts**" "*Printed & Sold by Ben. Harris.*" which is sometimes found pasted into copies of the Almanack for this year; and at the bottom of this leaf is advertised the "Acts and Laws Passed by the Great & General Court" of 1692.

In some copies the leaf containing the Table of the Courts has been set up anew and has the imprint "*Printed & sold by Benja. Harris.*" Again was the little leaf set up, and this variant has the imprint "*Printed, & Sold by B: Harris.*"

Harris, and | John Allen: And are to be Sold at the | London-Coffee-House.
1692.

This contains ten leaves. On the recto of the eighth leaf is a poem in twenty lines, beginning and ending as follows:

To Their Most Sacred *MAJESTIES*
King *WILLIAM*, and Queen *MARY*.

May Heav'ly Delights, & Joys Transcending, wait
About the Throne of your illustrious State.
• • • • •

And Your *New-England* Subjects with one voice,
Shall both in You and your blest Seed Rejoyce.

B H

Beneath the poem is a line containing the words "Bills, Bonds, and Indentures, &c."

Lulley, 1694

ALMANACK

For the Year of our LORD,
MDCXCIII

Being Second after Leap-Year,
And from the Creation

1643.

Wherein is Contained, Astronomical Observations from the Suns Ingress into Aries, and the other Cardinal Points, with an Account of the Eclipses, Conjunctions, and other Configurations of the Celestial Bodies.

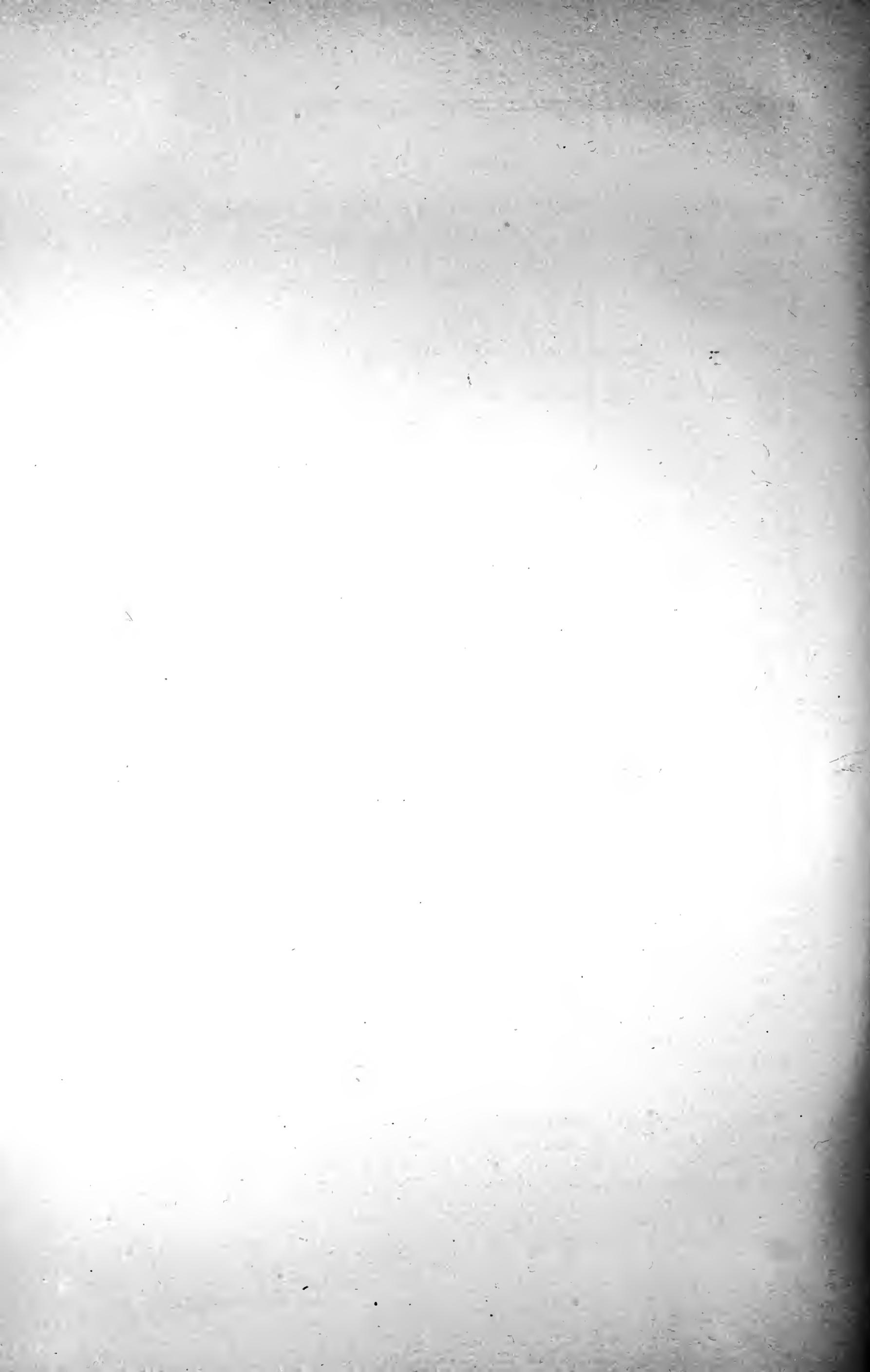
To which is Added, The Nativity of the French King. Together with other Things both Useful & Profitable.

Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of BOSTON in New-England, where the North Pole is Elevated 42 gr. 30 min. But may indifferently serve any part of New-England.

By John Lulley

Boston, Printed and Sold by Benj. Harris,
over-against the Old Meeting-House. 1694

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from an original in the possession of
Alfred Dwight Foster, Esquire



1694

Tulley, 1694 | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of our
LORD, | MDCXCIII | [15 lines.] | By John Tulley

Boston, Printed and Sold by Benj. Harris, | over-against the
Old-Meeting. House. 1694

16 mo. 12ll. No signature marks. ADF.

Of this issue only one complete copy¹ has come to light as far as the writer has been able to discover. Through the courtesy of its owner, Mr. Alfred D. Foster of Boston, it has been possible to make an examination and a description of this issue, and to reproduce in facsimile its title-page. The only other known copy of the Almanack for the year 1694 is fragmentary, what remains of it is much decayed and very fragile, and it lacks the title-page.² It is not impossible that this is the identical copy mentioned by Tulley in his letter to Benjamin Harris, the printer, under date of May 7, 1694, as printed by Dr. Samuel A. Green in 1902.³

The verso of the title-leaf carries the signs of the zodiac with the customary astronomical information. Then follow the six leaves covering the calendar pages for the twelve months. The next leaf is headed on the recto "Of the Eclipses. 1694.", and at the bottom of the page is a typographical diagram and a small rude cut of the eclipse of June 12, and the account of the eclipses continues on the verso.

For a long time I had doubted whether there had really been published for circulation the issue for this year, and this surmise was, I thought, partly borne out inferentially by Tulley's letter referred to above. But six months or a year ago an examination of the very imperfect copy brought forth enough evidence to serve for its identification as of the year 1694. For instance, one page gives a direct clue for this identification, for we find this sentence: "And Dasipodius saith the Tropick signes signifies a change of the

¹ Though Mr. Foster's copy is complete in the sense of having all the leaves, yet the tops of some of the pages have been cut by the binder.

² This fragment is owned by Mr. E. S. Phelps of Boston.

³ 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 414-415.

air, Laws, manners, &c. as I hinted in my last years Almanack." A comparison with Tulley's Almanack for 1693 verifies this reference of the author.

The leaf following has on the recto the conclusion of the account of the eclipses and a notice "Of the Four Quarters of the Year," having in the lower half of the page "A Figure of the Ingress of the ☽ into ♋ 1694." The verso of the leaf is a continuation of the matter on the recto. The remaining leaf bears on the recto the conclusion of this subject, and has on the lower half of the page twenty lines of verse headed "*Of the French Kings Nativity, &c.*" These verses are followed by two and a half pages of astrological speculations as to the birth of the French tyrant. Apparently these verses gave offence, as Tulley apologizes in 1696 for their appearance by throwing the blame for them on the printer Harris. Then follow certain observations and advertisements, including one of the publication of "Divine Poems for Youths: Containing Forty Remarkable Scripture Histories turned into common English Verse."

1695

**Tulley, 1695 | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of our
LORD, MDCXCV | [14 lines.] | By John Tulley**

*Boston, Printed for John Usher, by Benjamin Harris, who formerly lived over- | against the Old-Meeting-House, | is now Re- | moved to the Sign of the BIBLE, over- | against the Blew-Anchor.
1695.*

16mo. 12ll. Signature marks C and C 2 appear on the recto of the ninth and tenth leaves. AAS. BPL.* MHS.

The reading matter of this issue comprises "*An Account of the Cruelty of the Papists acted upon the Bodies of some of the Godly Martyrs,*" which makes about as interesting reading as does a last year's calendar. In addition are these verses at the close:

Those who in Blood their chiefest pleasure have,
Most commonly in Blood roul to their Grave.

Blood will have Blood, and seldom seen we have
That Murtherers go quiet to their Grave.

Thus some do make a sport of Cruelty,
And with delight do practice Villany.

Those who to such a height of Pride aspire,
The Devil and not God must be their Sire.

On the last page appear two interesting "Advertisements," one of "A New Book," by John Oliver, which had "found great Acceptation in England;" and the other of "A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts-Colony," etc., "Published by Old Planters." The latter was the work usually ascribed to Joshua Scottow, and known as Scottow's Narrative.

One of Tulley's imitators and rivals, "C. Lodowick, Physician," states on the title-page of his New-England Almanack for 1695 that to it "are added certain Impieties and Absurdities in Tulley's Almanacks, giving a truer Account of what may be expected from Astrological Predictions."

1696

**Tulley, 1696. | AN | Almanack, | For the Year of our
LORD, | M DC XC VI. | [12 lines.] | By John Tulley. |
Licensed by Authority.**

BOSTON, N. E. Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen,
for John Usher, and | are to be Sold at his Shop below the | Town-House, 1696.

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. ADF.* LC. MHS.

Skill in prognostication was uncertain in those days, and in the course of his remarks on the last page "Concerning Astrology & Meteorology" the author says, "As for the Weather in the Preceeding Pages, I have endeavoured to insert it according to the common Rules of Meteorology, which I have often found to fail, as to hit right." Tulley pays his respects to "my Friend Lodowick" for certain criticisms in the latter's late Almanack, which was published under the title "The New-England Almanack," "By C. Lodowick, Physician." (Boston, 1695). In regard to part of the contents of his 1694 Almanack Tulley says, "As for the French Kings Nativity, it was acted and put into my late Almanack by the Printer¹ unknown

¹ Benjamin Harris.

to me, for which I was much displeased with him for so doing; for I would not that any thing should be put into my *Almanack*, that I did really apprehend or think might be displeasing to God, whatever it were to man, but I would gladly please man also."

1697

Tulley, 1697. | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of our LORD, | M DC XC VII. | [13 lines.] | By John Tulley. | Licensed by Authority.

Boston, N. E. Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen, for John Usher, and | are to be Sold at his Shop below the | Town-House, 1697.

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. LC. MHS.

The "Advertisement" at the foot of the last page contains the bibliographical note that "There will be speedily Published a small Book, [by Cotton Mather], Entituled, **Great Examples of Judgment and Mercy,**" etc., which was "Printed for & Sold by Joseph Wheeler, at his Shop at the head of the Dock in Boston, Price stich't 8 d." There is also an announcement of the holding of two fairs in Boston, one a May-fair and the other in October. The English custom of regular fairs was early introduced into this country; and these fairs represent, I suppose, the beginning here of the spring cattle-shows and autumn fairs of the last century. The notice is as follows:

There are Two Fairs to be Held in the Town of Boston Annually, one on the last Tuesday in May, the other on the last Tuesday in Octob. each Fair to continue four days: Also Two Fairs to be Held at Providence Yearly, the second Wednesday of June, & first Wednesday of Octob. each to continue three days.¹

¹ Act of June 15, 1696 (Massachusetts Province Laws, i. 237-239). This is mentioned in the Memorial History of Boston, ii. 462 note; but neither in that work nor in Drake's History and Antiquities of Boston is any account given of earlier fairs. Spring and autumn fairs were appointed in Massachusetts in 1638 and in Plymouth in 1639: see Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 241; Plymouth Colony Records, xi. 32; Massachusetts Province Laws, i. 141-142.

1698

*Tulley, 1698. | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of our
LORD, | M DC XC VIII. | [14 lines.] By John Tulley. |
Licensed by Authority.*

BOSTON, N. E. Printed by *Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen.* Sold at the Printing-House | at the South end of the Town. 1698.

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. BPL. LC. MHS.

The poetical contribution in this issue for the amusement of the reader runs as follows, although it cannot be said to do so lightly:

“Astra regunt mundum: at sapiens dominabitur astris.

“I F Stars do rule the World, strange fate I wis
“By direful Aspects then portended is:
“The prudent Soul yet mounts above the skye,
“And antidates Cælestial destiny.

“A word of advice to those whom it may concern.

“H Ere's how the Sun his course in 's Circle goe's:
“I write Celestial harmonie in prose:
“Because your Fancies 'twould be hard to hitt,
“You may then judge according to your witt;
“The Planets set good faces on the matter
“Then take it how you will, I would not flatter;
“Now use't, and if Errataes you do find,
“I give you leave to mend them to your mind,
“If such there be, it is by oversight,
“Believe me, I'd as live it should be right.
“Thus right, or wrong, pray take it as it is,
“But us't aright, and then you'l never miss.

What is believed to be the earliest guide for travellers “over the road” in New England and to the southward is found on the last page of this Almanack. Since it contains curious information in regard to the routes of travel and the stopping places and taverns along the road, this account is reprinted here, as it is doubtful if it has been reproduced before:

*A Description of the High Ways, & Roads.
From Boston to New-York 278 Miles, thus accounted.*

From Boston to Dedham 10 miles, thence to Whites 6, to Billings 7, to Woodcocks 10. Or, from Dedham to Medfield 9, to Wrentham 10, to Woodcocks 4 (which is the smoother Road) to Providence 15, to the French Town 20, to Darby 24, to Pembertons 3, to Stonington 12, to New-London 15, to Say-Brook 18, to Killingsworth 12, to Guildford 10, to Branford 12, to New-Haven 10, to Mill-ford 10, to Stratford 4, to Fairfield 8, to Norwalk 12, to Standford 10, to Horseneck 7, to Rye 7, to Mari-neck 4, to New Rochel 4, to East-Chester 4, to Kings-bridge 6, to the Half-way-house 9, and from thence to New-York 9 mile.

From New-York to Philadelphia 96 mile, thus accounted.

From N-York to Elizabeth Town (by water) 20 m. to Woodbridge 8 m. to Piscattawa 8 m. to J[]inians 2 m. thence (the new Road) to Mill-stone-brook 14 m. to Assimpinks 4 m. to Croswicks-Bridge, over Doctors-brook 8 m. then to Burlington by the Mill 12 m. thence to Philadelphia 20 mile.

1699

Tulley, 1699. | AN | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord, M DC XC IX. | [14 lines.] | By JOHN TULLEY. | Licensed by Authority.

*BOSTON, N.E. Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen.
Sold at the Printing-House | at the South end of the Town. 1699.*

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. BPL. LC. MHS.

An advertisement at the end announces "the speedy Publication of Two Books," both by Cotton Mather, his Pillars of Salt, and his Decennium Luctuosum.

1700

Tulley, 1700. | AN | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord, 1700. | [16 lines.] | By JOHN TULLEY. | Licensed by Authority.

BOSTON, Printed by Bartholomew Green, | & John Allen. Sold at the Printing-House | at the South end of the Town. 1700

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. BPL. ADF. LC. MHS.

Besides the usual meteorological comments running through the calendar pages, this number concludes with "*Natural Prognosticks for the judgment of the Weather,*" consisting of such observations as these:

Water Fowls (as *Sea-gulls*, *More-hens*, &c.) when they flock and fly together from the Sea towards the shores; and contrary wise, Land-birds (as *Crows*, *Swallows* &c.) when they fly from the Lands to the waters, and beat the waters with their wings, doe fore-shew Rain and Wind.

I will write no Quarterly judgment about the Weather, judging what is inserted in the foregoing pages may suffice, save only as touching the Winter Quarter, by reason of the many *Bears*, *Wolves*, and other wild Creatures coming down out of the Country to the Sea-side, may presage a very Cold, hard *Winter*, as we have experienced this time two year.

1701

Tulley, 1701. | AN | ALMANACK | For the Year of our Lord 1701. | [18 lines.] | By JOHN TULLEY. | Licensed by Authority.

Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen. Sold at the | Printing-House at the South End of the Town 1701,

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. BPL. EDC. ADF. LC. MHS. NYHS.

The author's address to his readers in this number furnishes some information in regard to his series of Almanacks, which was soon to cease, and a reference to a rival series, that of Samuel Clough of Boston. This latter group beginning with the issue for this year, covered only a period of eight years, ending with "Clough's Farewell, 1708."

Tulley's address was as follows:

Friendly Readers,

I Have now served you with an Almanack twice Seven years, & as often given you the liberty to toss my name about by censure & applause: and have once again (being desired) more than I intended served you this year; but whether it may be acceptable I know not, because another Ingenious person hath undertaken the work, & may excel in this Service, in accommodating you yearly with something new that may be more pleasing. However, I

have indeavoured yearly (according to what a Sheet of Paper would contain) put in such things as are needful & necessary to be inserted, and what vacant room I have had to spare something new: and if what I have also this year inserted may be well accepted, I shall be incouraged according to my ability (while I am able) to Serve you yet longer, otherwise I am willing to be released of this work considering my Age. I hope I have added nothing but what may be allowed to be Printed this year as well as the last; if any Errors of mine appear, you ought to pardon them according to the Poet.

*Let him that faultless finds himself, declare
Faultless to be, or else to carp forbear.*

At the time of this address Mr. Tulley was sixty-two or sixty-three years old, and he died before the end of this calendar year, on October 5, 1701. His last Almanack was for the next year, 1702. In the account of the eclipses for 1701 is a rude drawing or engraving of "the man in the moon," and the last page offers directions for the then current method "*Of Blood Letting, &c.*" as well as an advertisement of Nicholas Boone's "*Military Discipline, being the compleat Souldier.*"

1702

**Tulley's Farewel 1702, | AN | Almanack | For the Year
of our LORD, 1702. | [15 lines.] | By JOHN TULLEY ; |
Who dyed as he was finishing this Almanack ; | and so leaves
it as his last Legacy to his Country-men.**

*Boston: Printed by Bartholomew Green, and | John Allen. Sold
at the Printing House at | the South End of the Town. 1702.*

16mo. 8ll. No signature marks. AAS. BPL. ADF. LC. MHS.

As this is the last Almanack of this series, it may be well enough, for the sake of example, to reprint the running comments on one of the calendar pages as a specimen of the prognostications. Take the month of January, and we find the following expressions:

Cold enough The cold Strengthens many Heels tript up Frequent Snows about this time. Need of a Fire Snow upon Snow Norwesters Keen Twil freeze by the Fire side Pitty the poor Too many stay at Home¹ Fair in some places, Cold in all. Over Shoes and Boots

¹ This entry is against Sunday.

There is here no reference to the traditional "January thaw;" but it may be judged that bad weather sometimes served even in those days as an excuse for "staying home from meetin'."

On the last leaf appear references to Mr. Tulley and this explanatory note: "This being all that we find Written hereof, in *Tulley's Papers*, we do not presume to add any thing more particular." There is also this briefest memorial of the author:

Psal. 8. 3, 4.

When I, pure Heaven, thy Fabrick see,
The Moon and Stars produc'd by thee,
LORD, What is Man, or his frail Race,
That thou shouldst such a Shadow grace?

EPITATH upon John Tulley.

Foretel, Vain Man! No man has yet Foretold,
What thou shalt See, e're one more *Twelve-month* old;
Work thou mayst for *another Year* lay out,
And never See *One Month* on 't come about.

FINIS.

At the bottom of the last page is an advertisement of Increase Mather's "A Discourse proving that the Christian Religion is the only true Religion," and "a Book Entituled, *The Faithful Instructor*," "Sold at the Book-sellers Shops in Boston: 1702."

The Hon. ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG of Worcester, and Mr. EDWARD PERCIVAL MERRITT of Boston, were elected Resident Members; Mr. EDWARD ROBINSON of New York was elected a Corresponding Member; and Mr. JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN of New York was elected an Honorary Member.

JANUARY MEETING, 1911

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 January, 1911, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from the Hon. ARTHUR PRENTICE REED of Worcester and Mr. EDWARD PASCUAL MERRITT of Boston, accepting Resident Membership; from Mr. EDWARD ROBINSON of New York, accepting Corresponding Membership; and from Mr. JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN of New York, accepting Honorary Membership.

Mr. MARK ANTONY DE WOLFE HOWE and Dr. CHARLES PICKERING PUTNAM, both of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited reproductions of some pages of an ancient Irish manuscript belonging to Harvard College, recently made by the cameragraph, to show how accurately and inexpensively it is now possible to copy documents.

The Rev. Dr. WILLIAM W. FENN called attention to a book entitled Thomas Shepard, Pilgrim Father and Founder of Harvard, by the Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D., Principal of the New College, Edinburgh; and read the following passage:

One midnight well on toward the end of his life Thomas Shepard was found lying on his face in his study in a swoon of sweat and tears, and with a copy of the *New England Gazette* crushed together in his lockfast hands. The reason of all that was afterwards discovered to be this. Mr. T. H.¹ Thomas Shepard's bosom friend, was wont to have a sermon of his printed in the *Gazette* time about with a sermon of Shepard's. And both the manager of the journal and all its readers were well known to Shepard to put his friend's sermons far above his for their eloquence and for their English. It is not told how Mr. T. H. took that praise of himself and depreciation of his friend. But Shepard made no secret to God and to his own soul how he took it. For the copy of the paper that Shepard held crushed in his hands that midnight contained a specially beautiful sermon of Mr. T. H.'s. And as Shepard tried first not to see that sermon, and then turned in prayer to try to read it and could not, he quite lost all power over himself and actually fell on his face on the floor as if his New England study had been the Garden of Gethsemane (pp. 192-193):

As Dr. Fenn was unable to recall anything in Shepard's writings that could give rise to such a scene, he wrote to Dr. Whyte asking his authority for the statement and received the following reply :

If you read between the lines you will easily see that the "anecdote" is a composition of materials gathered together out of Shepard's so suggestive memoirs. I hope I have not gone beyond the bounds of literary liberty in taking this device for the purpose of setting this remarkable man more clearly before the eyes of a generation who do not know what they possess in Shepard.

It may not be improper to warn British readers that Shepard was not a "Pilgrim Father," as that term is generally now employed in New England; that Shepard was not "the founder of Harvard," as stated by Dr. Whyte in his title and on pages 104, 234, of his book; that no journal called the *New England Gazette*, was published in New England certainly before 1783; and that no regular newspaper at all was published in New England until 1704 — or more than half a century after the death of Shepard.

¹ Presumably the Rev. Thomas Hooker.

Mr. HORACE E. WARE made the following communication:

SUPPLEMENT TO "A FORGOTTEN PRIME MERIDIAN"

I desire to present certain historical facts relating to what was considered the longitude of Boston and the neighboring New England coast in the early part of the seventeenth century, of which I have become informed since I prepared the paper "A Forgotten Prime Meridian," lately submitted to the Society.¹

In Champlain's account of his voyages published in 1613 there are two maps that he had made of New France, a larger map, dated 1612, and a smaller map, dated 1613. Of these two maps only the one dated 1613 has marks or numbers indicating longitudes. On this map such marks and numbers are on the upper and lower margins, there being also marks and numbers on the side margins to indicate latitudes. No parallels or meridians are laid down, but equal numbers are placed opposite each other across the map, so that straight lines connecting such numbers would answer the purpose of parallels or meridians. Under this arrangement, the longitude of what is now Boston appears to be about 306° . Calling the longitude of Boston in present use 71° west, its longitude reckoned continuously east from Greenwich would be $360^{\circ}-71^{\circ}$, or 289° . Pursuing further the method used in "A Forgotten Prime Meridian,"² it will take a starting point about 17° to the west of Greenwich to make the meridian of Boston about 306° , as on Champlain's map. We find that the meridian of 17° west of Greenwich passes near to Ferro, the westernmost island of the Canaries.³ The meridian of Ferro being in considerable use in Champlain's time, as indicated in "A Forgotten Prime Meridian,"⁴ we are justified, I think, in concluding that for the purposes of this map the longitudes given in the margin were based upon the meridian of Ferro as the prime meridian.

Champlain's account of his voyages to New France, published in 1632, contains a large general map covering the coasts of Canada and of what is now the northeastern United States, to a point a little

¹ December, 1909, Publications, xii. 382-398.

² xii. 384.

³ Lippincott's New Gazetteer, 1906, gives the longitude of Ferro as $18^{\circ} 7' 5''$ west of Greenwich.

⁴ Publications, xii. 389, 392.

south of Chesapeake Bay. This map, like the smaller map referred to above, has marks and numbers for latitude and longitude on the sides and on the upper and lower margins respectively. On this map the longitude of Boston appears to be about 305° , and evidently is also reckoned from the meridian of Ferro.¹ In confirmation of this conclusion, we may here recall that this meridian was prescribed by the King of France for his subjects in 1634, in accordance with the decision of a congress of scientists assembled at Paris by Richelieu in 1630.²

Coming now to Captain John Smith's map of New England, an explanation is important regarding the various states of the plate or plates from which the different impressions of the map were taken. Justin Winsor finds that there were ten such states, and he notes their distinctive features in numerical and chronological order.³ Our associate, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library, makes the number of states nine instead of ten, identifying Winsor's states VII and VIII with his own state VII. There are in the Lenox Library specimens of all these nine states, collected by Mr. Lenox and Mr. Eames, and the Massachusetts Historical Society has had photographic reproductions made of all the nine states as determined by them.

The first state of Smith's map accompanied his book, *A Description of New England*, which he published in London in June, 1616. This state bears no date, but all states after the first are dated 1614. Regarding the last, or state X (Eames's state IX), Winsor among other things says:

Under the compass these words appear: *He that desyres to know more of the Estate of new England lett him read a new Book of the prospecte of new England & ther he shall have Satisfacion.* Although the old date, 1614, is still kept on the plate, this inscription shows that this state followed the publication of Wood's *New England's Prospects*, 1634, and it

¹ The features of Champlain's three maps as given in the text are taken from the reproductions of the same in *The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain* translated from the French by C. P. Otis and published by the Prince Society in three volumes (1878-1882). The large map of 1612 and the small map of 1613 face p. 228 of vol. iii; the map of 1632 faces p. 304 of vol. i.

² Publications, xii. 392; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, xxiii. 394.

³ *Memorial History of Boston*, i. 52.

seems to have been made for the following work: *Historia Mundi*, or *Mercator's Atlas . . . Enlarged with new Mapps and Tables by the studious industrie of Jodocus Hondy. Englished by W(ye) S(altonstall).* London, Printed for Michaell Sparke and Samuel Cartwright, 1635, folio.¹

It therefore appears that all the states of Smith's map were published between the years 1616 and 1635 inclusive. Smith's portrait, dated 1616, occupies the upper left-hand corner of the plate in all its states.

Marks and numbers for parallels of latitude are shown on the right-hand margin in all states of this map, but the corresponding marks and numbers for latitude on the left-hand margin and for longitude in the upper and lower margins first appear in state IV. For both latitude and longitude, equal numbers are here placed opposite each other across the map without connecting lines, in the same way as on Champlain's maps. These details remain unchanged in all the subsequent states. According to Winsor, state IV was supposed by Mr. Lenox to have been published with Smith's Generall Historie, in 1624.² It is reproduced at page 694 of Captain John Smith's Works, edited by Arber. The meridian of 315° is not numbered at the top of the map because the space of the figures is occupied by the portrait, but the short vertical line which represents it is easily identified. By means of this and the corresponding numbered line at the bottom,³ we find that the meridian of 315° passes across Boston Harbor near its entrance, for I understand the latter to be the place where Charles River enters the open sea as on state IV of Smith's map.

For the reasons given in "A Forgotten Prime Meridian," the meridian of 315° and the other longitudes on Smith's map of New England are evidently reckoned from the meridian of St. Michael's.

On Captain John Smith's map of Virginia, dated 1606,⁴ there are

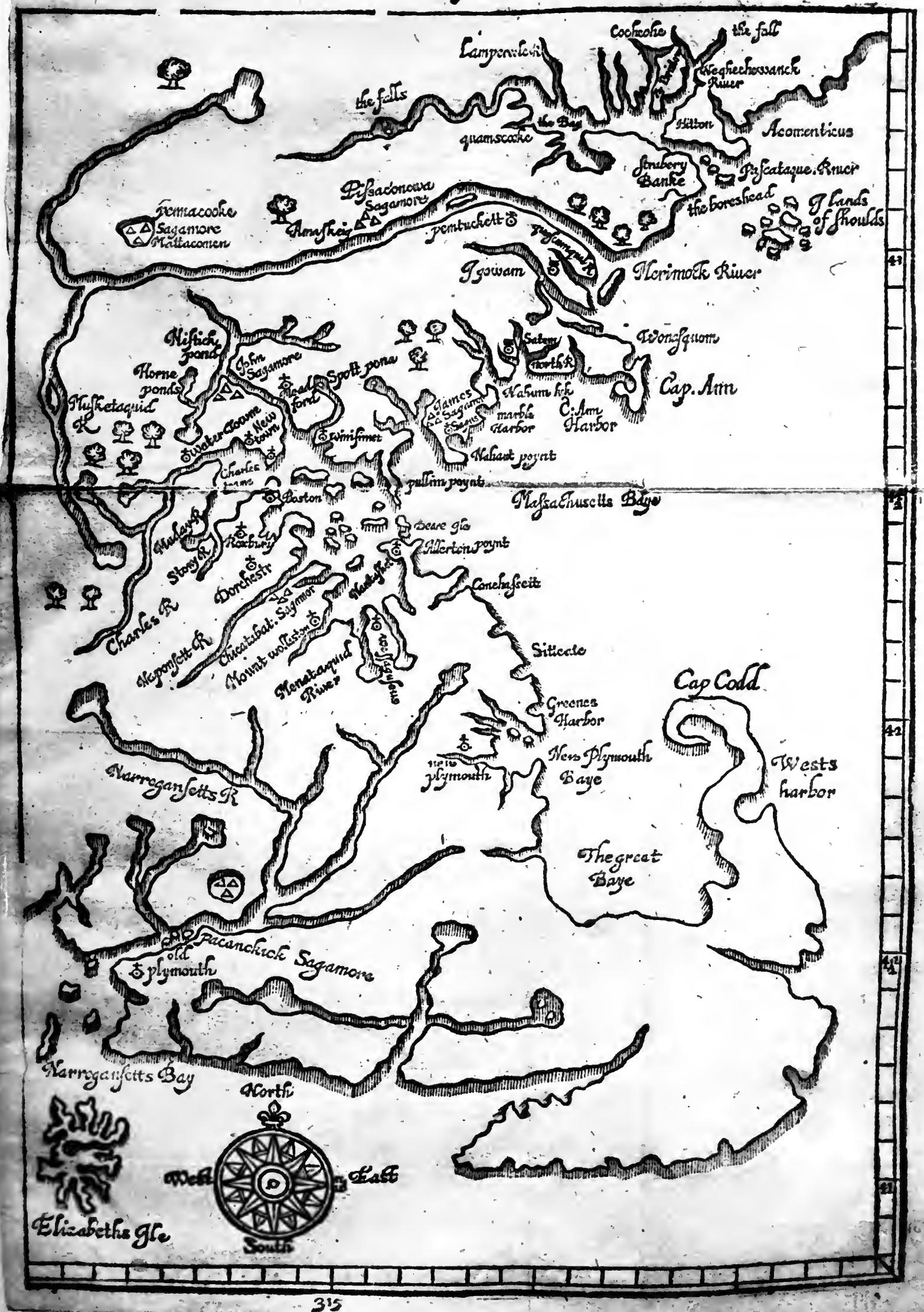
¹ Memorial History of Boston, i. 56.

² i. 54.

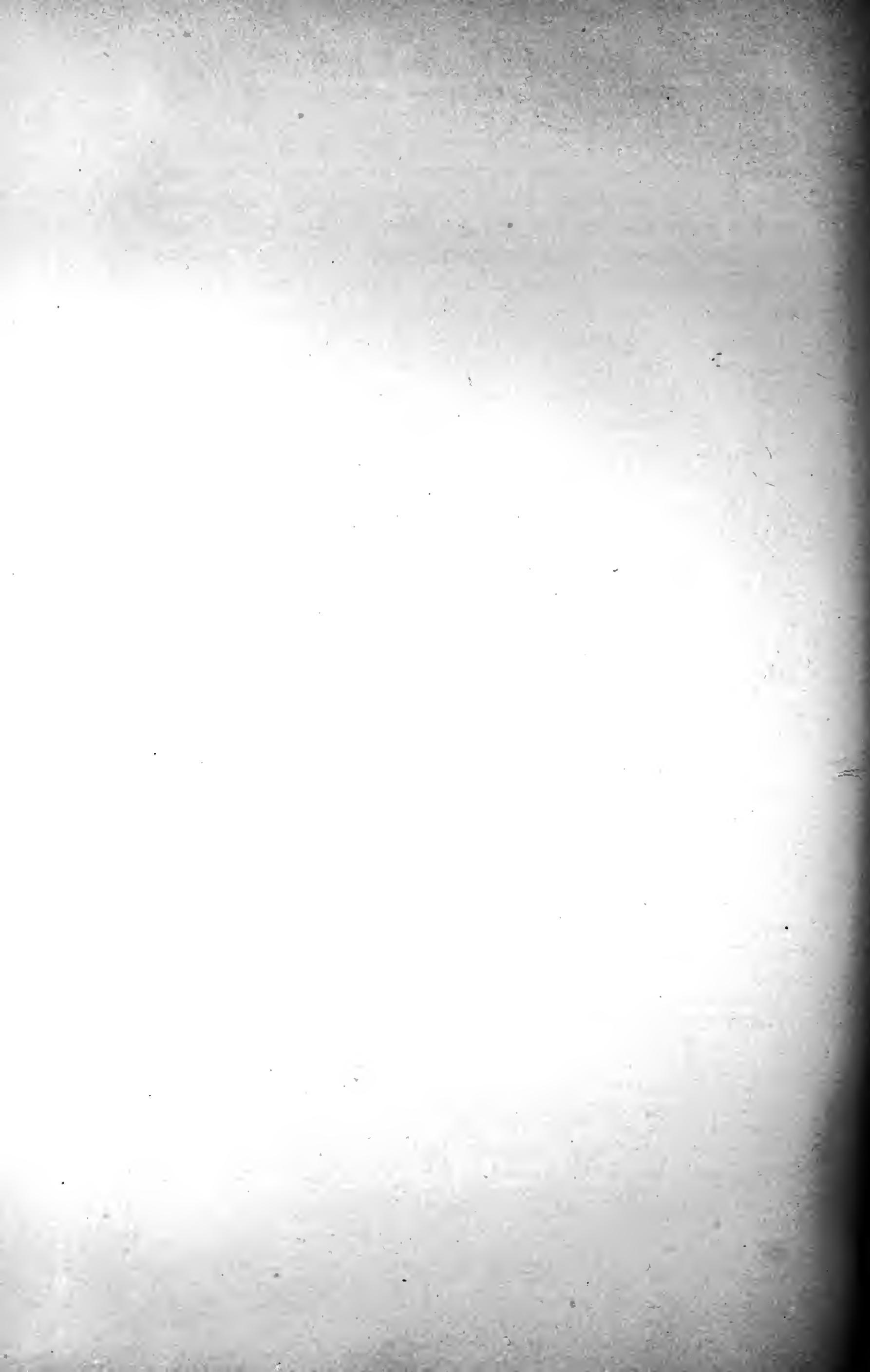
³ The number 315 at the bottom of the map was engraved below the framing lines because its proper space in the field was occupied by Smith's coat-of-arms, and in Arber's reproduction it is not shown; but it appears, in the original figures, on the photographic copies made from the Lenox Library specimens.

⁴ The map of Virginia was first published in a book entitled *A Map of Virginia with Description of the Countrey, . . .* by Captaine John Smith, Oxford, 1612, but was afterwards reissued in his Generall Historie, 1624, and in Purchas his Pilgrimes, 1625. According to Mr. Eames it exists in eight states, of which the last two have much more detail than the earlier six. (See Narratives of Early

The South part of New-England, as it is
Planted this yeare, 1634.



Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from an original in the possession of the
Boston Public Library



marks and numbers for latitude and longitude in the margins, the same as in states IV-IX (X) of his map of New England. On this map the longitude of Cape Henry is in round numbers $309\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. On modern maps the longitude of Cape Henry is close to 76° , which subtracted from 360° would make the longitude of that Cape 284° , reckoning continuously from Greenwich toward the east. Proceeding $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west from Greenwich, we bring the 284° up to $309\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ as above. In "A Forgotten Prime Meridian"¹ we found that the meridian of 26° west of Greenwich came so close to the Island of St. Michael of the Azores that we concluded that Boston's ancient longitude of 315° was reckoned from a meridian passing through that island; and as the difference is so slight between $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and 26° , I conclude that the longitudes on Smith's map of Virginia, the same as on his map of New England, are reckoned from the meridian of St. Michael's.²

With each of the 1634, 1635, and 1639 editions of William Wood's New Englands Prospect, is the map of The South part of New-England bearing the date of the edition which it accompanies. On all these maps there are marks and numbers for latitude on the right hand margin only. The only marks for longitude are at the bottom. These are short, vertical lines, evidently at the intervals of 5 minutes; those for the degrees and half degrees being slightly longer than the others. The only number for longitude on any of the maps is the number 315, which is placed under that one of the longer vertical lines which, extended upward, would pass across Boston Harbor somewhat to the east of the city. A reproduction of the map of 1634 accompanies this paper.

There is a further instance of allusion to the longitude of Boston

Virginia, 1606-1625, edited by L. G. Tyler, 1907, p. vi; map at p. 76.) The facsimile that I have examined accompanies Deane's edition of Smith's A True Relation of Virginia, Boston, 1866. It bears figures referring to the pages at which it appeared in the Generall Historie and in Purchas, and appears to be taken from one of the last two states.

¹ Publications, xii. 384-385.

² In Stanford's London Atlas, third edition, 1904, in the List of Names with Latitudes and Longitudes at the end, the longitude of the Island of St. Michael is given as $25^{\circ} 30'$ west. In W. F. Walker's The Azores, London, 1886, on the map of St. Michael's opposite p. 46, that island extends in longitude from about $25^{\circ} 9'$ west to about $25^{\circ} 52'$ west.

in the historical account of the discovery and settlement of Charlestown and the neighboring towns, which was compiled by John Greene in the year 1664 and now forms the beginning of the first volume of the Town Records of Charlestown.¹ The reference to longitude occurs in the first paragraph of Greene's account, which I quote in his own spelling.

Captⁿ John Smith haveing (in y^e Raigne of o^r Soveraigne Lord James by y^e Grace of God King of England, Scotland, ffrance, and Ireland Defendo^r of y^e ffaith) made A discovery of some p^{ts} of America lighted amongst oth^r places upon y^e opening bettwixt Cape Codd & Cape Ann scituate and lying in 315 degr^s of Longitude & 42 degr^s 20 min^{ts} of north Latitude where by sounding & makeing up hee fell in amongst y^e Islands, and advanced up into the Massachusetts Bay till hee came up into y^e River betweene Misham (aft^rwarwards called Charlstowne) and Shawmutt (aft^rw^{ds} called Boston) & haveing made discovery of the Land, Riv^{rs} Coves and Creekes in the s^d Bay, & also taken some obser- vations of the natures, dispositions & sundry Customes of the numerous India[ns] or Natives inhabiting the same; hee returned to England wer[e] (it was reported y^t) upon his Arrivall hee p^resented A mapp of th[e] Massachusetts Bay to y^e King, & y^t the Prince (aftwards Kin[g] Charles y^e first) upon enquiry & perusall of the fores^d River & the scituatiⁿ thereof upon the Mapp, appointed it to bee called Charles River.

We have seen that on Smith's map of New England, Wood's map of the South part of New-England, and in Greene's historical account, the meridian of 315° is laid somewhat to the eastward of Boston. I think this is not inconsistent with the statement in the earlier almanacs cited in "A Forgotten Prime Meridian" that Boston's longitude was 315° . For the purposes of navigation, after land had been sighted near the entrance to Boston Harbor, there was no further advantage in ascertaining slight changes in longitude in order to enter port and proceed up the harbor. The area from the entrance to Boston Harbor to Boston, and even to and including Cambridge, was undoubtedly considered in a general way to be in longitude 315° .

When we compare differences in longitude between certain places

¹ The Charlestown records are now in the custody of the City Clerk of Boston. Regarding Greene's narrative, see also H. H. Sprague's Founding of Charlestown by the Spragues, 1910, pp. 5-9, 33-37.

according to the above named older maps with such differences on modern maps in order to ascertain from what prime meridian the former longitudes were reckoned, we must not expect that such differences will agree exactly with each other. The means of ascertaining geographical positions have been vastly improved during the last three centuries, to say nothing of the additional knowledge gained from experience and observations. The consequence is that probably almost every important place now has a longitude more or less different from that assigned to it at the time of the ancient maps of Smith and others referred to. For instance, the former difference between the longitude of Ferro, or of St. Michael's, and that of Boston, could only be expected to approximate the modern difference. But when we find such approximation, we have the further reasons as stated above and in "A Forgotten Prime Meridian" for believing that Boston's meridian was reckoned from Ferro on Champlain's maps, and from St. Michael's on Smith's map. And I may be permitted to say here that this paper should of course be read in connection with "A Forgotten Prime Meridian."

In investigating matters connected with prime meridians founded on agonic lines — that is, lines of no declination of the compass — you may readily see that much assistance may be derived from the publications on the subject of terrestrial magnetism issued by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, which I have cited in the previous paper. It is a case where the principles of science may be applied to our better understanding of human undertakings in the past. By supplementing our study of history, of maps and of geographies, with a knowledge of the more prominent workings of terrestrial magnetism, we obtain a far more thorough comprehension of the reasons for the different prime meridians in question having been adopted, of their unsatisfactory character for the practical purposes of navigation or otherwise, and of the causes of their having been finally abandoned.

The data, then, taken from Smith's maps of New England and Virginia and from Wood's map of the South part of New-England go to sustain the conclusion reached in "A Forgotten Prime Meridian" that in Massachusetts during the period of somewhat over sixty years after the landing at Plymouth longitude was reckoned from the so-called meridian of St. Michael's; and that during that period,

and for the anterior period back to the time of Elizabeth, the same meridian was also made use of by most English navigators and geographers as a prime meridian.

**NOTE ON THE COMMENDATORY VERSES INSCRIBED ON
SMITH'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND**

In connection with Smith's map of New England I should like to make brief reference to the lines of poetry thereon and to John Davies, the author; but as this is somewhat aside from the purpose of the foregoing paper, I submit what I have to communicate in the form of an appended note.

On this map, under the portrait, are the following lines:¹

*These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn;
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.*

*If so; in Brasse, (too soft Smiths Acts to beare)
I fix thy Fame, to make Brasse Steele outweare.*

*Thine, as thou art Virtues,
John Davies. Heref:*

It is interesting to read the foregoing in connection with the lines written by Ben Jonson and inscribed on the page opposite Shakespeare's portrait at the beginning of the Shakespeare Folio of 1623. I submit those lines also in order to facilitate the comparison:²

To the Reader.

*This Figure, that thou here seest put,
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
Wherein the Grauer had a strife
with Nature, to out-doo the life:
O, could he but haue drawne his wit
As well in brasse, as he hath hit
His face; the Print would then surpassee
All, that was euer writ in brasse.
But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.*

B. I.

¹ Arber, facing p. 694.

² These lines are taken from a copy of the First Folio in the Boston Public Library. Cf. Works of Ben Jonson, Gifford's edition (1816), viii. 328; R. G. White's edition of Shakespeare, Boston, 1865, vol. ii. p. xxx.

John Davies, poet and writing master, was born at Hereford in or about the year 1565. He died in London in June or July, 1618, and was buried in the Church of St. Dunstan, July 6th of that year. Davies was wont to place an addition to his signature to indicate that he was of Hereford, probably that he might be distinguished from Sir John Davies (1569-1626), sometime Attorney General for Ireland, who was also an author of poems, and perhaps also from John Davies, D.D. (1570?-1644), clergyman, scholar and author.

Among Davies's pupils in penmanship was Henry, Prince of Wales, who died in 1612. Davies wrote a great number of pieces of poetry, including some three hundred epigrams and divers commendatory verses prefixed to publications. Among the epigrams are one to Shakespeare and two to Ben Jonson. The epigram to Shakespeare is as follows:¹

To our English Terence Mr. Will: Shake-speare.

SOME say good Will (which I, in sport, do sing)
 Had'st thou not plaid some Kingly parts in sport,
 Thou hadst bin a companion for a King;
 And, beene a King among the meaner sort.
 Some others raile; but raile as they thinke fit,
 Thou hast no rayling, but, a raigning Wit:
And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reap;
So, to increase their Stocke which they do keepe.

Davies also wrote a sonnet on Smith, which was printed in the Description of New England.²

Thomas Fuller in his History of the Worthies of England, first published in 1662, pays high tribute to Davies's penmanship and briefly alludes to his poetic accomplishments. I quote his language in order that you may catch the spirit of humorous hyperbole in which he writes:³

JOHN DAVIES of Hereford (for so he constantly styled himself) was the greatest master of the pen that England in his age beheld; for, 1. *Fast-writing*; so incredible his expedition. 2. *Fair-writing*; some minutes consultation being required to decide, whether his lines were written or printed. 3. *Close-writing*; a mystery indeed, and too dark for my dim eyes to discover. 4. *Various writing*; Secretary, Roman, Court, and Text.

The poetical fiction of Briareus the giant, who had a hundred hands, found a moral in him, who could so cunningly and copiously disguise his aforesaid ele-

¹ Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford, Grosart's edition, vol. ii., The Scourge of Folly (1611), p. 26, Epigram 159.

² Arber, pp. 181, 491.

³ Edition of 1840, ii. 79.

mental hands, that by mixing he could make them appear a hundred, and if not so many sorts, so many degrees of writing. Yet, had he lived longer, he would modestly have acknowledged Mr. Githings (who was his scholar, and also born in this county) to excel him in that faculty; whilst the other would own no such odious eminency, but rather gratefully return the credit to his master again.* Sure I am, when two such transcendent penmasters shall again come to be born in the same shire, they may even serve fairly to engross the will and testament of the expiring universe. Our Davies had also some pretty excursions into poetry, and could flourish matter as well as letters, with his fancy as well as with his pen. He died at London, in the midst of the reign of King James; and lieth buried in St. Giles in the Fields.¹

* So informed by Master Cox, Draper in London, his executor.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES read the following paper:

In an autograph dealer's catalogue, which was sent to me last summer, I noticed an item described as a profession of faith of the Rev. Andrew Eliot. I bought it and soon after submitted it to our associate Dean Fenn. As Dr. Fenn expressed the hope that I would carry out my purpose of communicating this paper to the Society, I feel no hesitancy in offering it for consideration to-day. The text follows.

I bles god that I haue bene born under the gospel and doe hear of a sauour and saluation by him: it pleased the lord to work upon my heart by the conuictions of his spirit and to shew me that I had something to doe in order to my own souls eternal saluation and blesednes in a nother world but I went on contrary to conuictions and stifiled them uery much for a long time but at length I was so much awakened and terifyed in my self that I could not resist any longer then I complyed in some measure with these conuictions that I had in me by the spirit of god and thought with my self I would not any longer stand out and fight against god but after some time I fell much from my resolutions and became cold and careles in the ways of godliness but it pleased the lord to stir me up again and to bring me to consideration of what adreadful condicion I was in while I thus continued in a state of coldness in the ways of religion and then I was brought into dreadful doughts and fears about my sencerity in the ways of religion but I haue great hopes that it was in love to my poor soul that god dealt with me after such a maner and that it was to humble me and to shew me that my own strength and all my own righteounes was but as filthy rags and worse then nothing and that the right-

¹ The statement above, that he was buried in St. Dunstan's, is taken from the Dictionary of National Biography, xiv. 139.

ousnes of the lord Jesus christ was that in which I must appear in at the day of Judgment and my hopes in this is because that by search I haue found that I did put two much trust upon my own strength but now by these fals that I haue mett with I haue seen in me a mear fountain of sin and iniquity and a wretched body of death wthin me so that from what I haue experinced of it in me I can cry out with the apostle who shall deliuier me from this wretched body of sin and death and by these fals I haue been almost brought to dispair of any hopes of my sencerity but god by his infinite power and through his infinite wisdom has kept me in a little hopes all along and by this hope that was in me I was kept from laying down my duty totaly though it was kept up in much coldnes and indiferency and now desire to come to the lords table and to pertake of the benifites that christ has purchased for his chosen and hope that I shal receiue of the benifites that christ has to giue to all those that wait upon him there in sincerity because he has apointed it for weak and doughting christians and desire the prayers of all gods people for me that I may have all my wants supplyed and my doughts resolued att this holy ordinance of the lords super and that my life and conuersation may shew forth that I doe adorn the profesion that I now make before the lord this day

I beleive that there is one god in three persons father son and holy goast I beleive that Jesus Christ is the son of god and that he took upon him our nature and came into the world and dyed a miserable and cruel death for the sins of the elect I beleive that this was in acouenant between the father and the son from the dayes of eternity and that in fulnes of time it was all fulfilled that christ dyed and rose again the third day and asended into heauen and siteth at the right hand of god the father to make intercesion for those whom he had dyed to redeem I beleive in the holy goast that he is god and proceedeth from the father and son and is equil with them both in wisdom and power I belieue that christ ordained churches in the world for the edifying and comforting of his chosen and to s[o] unite their hearts in love to god and also to one another for the strengthening and establishing of them in the ways of holynes and comfort and building them up in their most holy faith I beleive that there is anumber of elected ones chosen in christ before the foundation of the world for which number christ dyed I beleive that in these churches that he has ordained in the world he ordained the ordinances that is in them and sacraments which are two namly baptism and the lords super the one for the sealing to beleiuers the benifites of christs death and mediation the other to shew forth christs death and for the renewing

that solemn couenant which they make in the former which they renew in the latter sacrament I beleive that at the end of the world christ shal come to Judge the world and that the righteous shal go into life eternal but the wicked into hell to be punished with unquenchinable fire with the deuil and his angels for euer

ANDREW ELIOT

[*Endorsed*]

ANDREW ELIOT

In commenting on this document Dean Fenn says:

The writer was evidently a Calvinist believing, however, in "means" and in a limited atonement. So far as one can gather from running through Eliot's sermons, the writer's views as to the Lord's Supper and "means" are in harmony with his, but the limited atonement is puzzling. Certainly, at the end of his life Eliot would not have subscribed to the doctrine, although he may have done so earlier.

Dr. Andrew Eliot's son, Ephraim Eliot, has portrayed the character of his father. The following passage, written in 1822, is of present interest:

In principle he was what has been styled a moderate Calvinist. The doctrines laid down in the "Assembly's Shorter Catechism" he held in high estimation. These he inculcated zealously upon the youth of his congregation, and upon his children, as long as he lived. That part of the clergy, who style themselves the liberal clergy, now take pains to disseminate an opinion that he was an Arminian. Upon this the writer does not pretend to decide; but thinks it is incorrect, or that the doctor himself did not know it; or peradventure these gentlemen are not competent judges. The creed commonly called the Apostles' he assented to, with the exception of that part, which affirms that Christ descended into hell. For this he did not think there was scriptural authority. This part he taught his children to leave out, when they repeated that and the Lord's prayer to him, after catechising them, which was his constant practice every Sabbath evening; and he advises in one of his printed sermons, that it should always be left out.¹

As the Records of the New North Church give an unusually full account of the proceedings of the communicants in relation to the choice of a successor to the Rev. Peter Thacher as colleague to the

¹ Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 417-421; Historical Notices of the New North Religious Society in the Town of Boston, p. 28.

Rev. John Webb, and as they evince the deepest interest in the doctrinal position of candidates, the following extracts are here printed for the first time from the original:

July 9th 1739

[230]

At a meeting of y^e Brethren regularly warned: after solemn Supplications to y^e great Head of the Ch^h, for his gracious presence and Direction, the following things were proposed to the Brethren and acted upon

I. Whereas the Church, at a meeting May 28th past, made choice of y^e Rd. *Thomas Prentice*¹ & Mr *John Burt*,² to preach with us, each three sermons upon Probation; w^{ch} they have already done:

It is proposed, whether the Ch^h will now proceed to take any further step or steps towards the settlement of one or other of the worthy Persons above-mentioned, or of any other suitable Person, in the pastoral office over us.

Voted in the Affirmative.

II. Since the settlement of a Pastor, is an affair wherein the Honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Salvation of precious souls is most nearly concerned; and since for these Reasons, it is the indispensable Duty of every Church to introduce no man into the Pastoral Office over them, but one that, with other desireable Qualifications, is *sound in the Faith of y^e Gospel, and of a good conversation in Cht Jesus:*

It is proposed; That y^e Person upon whom the Lot may fall, be strictly examined concerning *his Principles in Christianity*, both *doctrinal* and *disciplinary*; and that proper care be taken to enquire into his *Christian conversation*: and that the Ch^h receive reasonable and Christian satisfaction in the premises, before they fully confirm said choice.

Voted in the Affirmative.

[231] VIII. Inasmuch as sevral of y^e great & important Doctrines of Ch^htianity are vigorously opposed at this Day by *Deists, Socinians, Arians & Arminians*, and the Faith of many professors in great danger of being subverted by this means:

Voted, That it is y^e Desire and Expectation of the Ch^h, That the Committee abovementioned take more especial care to enquire of y^e

¹ Mr. Prentice graduated at Harvard in 1726. He was settled at Arundel, Maine, 1730-1737, and at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1739-1775. He died in 1782.

² John Burt graduated at Harvard in 1736, was ordained as minister of Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1741, married a daughter of Lieut.-Gov. William Ellery, and died in 1775.

Rd M^r Thomas Prentice concerning his soundness in these present Truths; and to desire of him the most explicit confession of his Faith concerning them.

IX. Voted, That the Rd. M^r Prentice be desired to preach one part of y^e Day with us till the Committee have made the enquiries above-mentioned, and reported to y^e Ch^h upon them.¹

July 22nd [1741]

[237]

At a Meeting of the Brethren regularly notified:

[238] II. Upon a Proposal made: Voted, That a Day of Prayer be kept to seek Light and Direction from the Great Head of the Ch^h with respect to the Call and Settlement of a suitable Person in y^e Pastoral Office over us.

III. Voted, That August 12th insuing be the Day Appointed and kept for y^e End abovementioned.

IV. Voted, That Mess^{rs} Daniel Rogers,² Andrew Eliot, and Jonathan Helyer³ three candidates for the Evangelical Ministry, be Desired to preach with us the three following Sabbaths.

August 18th

At a Meeting of the Brethren regularly notified: After solemn Supplications to the great Head of the Ch^h for his gracious Direction,

Voted, That Mess^{rs} Andrew Eliot & Janathan Helyer, be Desired to preach, and continue preaching with us till a Number of the Brethren shall desire another Meeting to take y^e supply of the Pulpit into further Consideration

November 2nd

A Number of the Brethren (agreeable to the Vote of August 18th) having desired a Ch^h meeting: A Meeting was notified, and the Brethren met regularly on this Day, and after solemn supplications to the glorious

¹ So attractive as a preacher was he, that Mr. Prentice received, almost simultaneously, calls to the pulpits of the New North Church in Boston, of West Cambridge, and of Charlestown. He accepted the call to Charlestown and declined the other two on the same day.

² Daniel Rogers graduated at Harvard in 1725, was a tutor, 1732-1741, and in 1748 was settled over the Second Church in Exeter, New Hampshire. Another man of the same name graduated in the class of 1725 and in 1732 was ordained at Littleton, Massachusetts.

³ Jonathan Helyer graduated at Harvard in 1738, was settled at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1744 and died in 1745.

Head of the Ch^h for Light and Direction: The supply of y^e Pulpit was taken into further Consideration. and after some Debate,

I. The Question was put whether the Supply of y^e Pulpit for some time sh^{ld} be by one Candidate alone, or by Two in their Turns? Passed in the Affirmative for one only.

II. The Brethren were desired to bring in their written votes, for one Candidate to supply y^e Pulpit for some time, and on counting y^e votes when bro't in, it appear'd that Mr *Andrew Eliot*, was chosen by a considerable majority.

III. Voted, That said *Eliot* be desired to preach with us the eight following Sabbaths.

December 28, 1741.

[239]

At a Meeting of the Brethren, regularly notified, for the further Supply of the Pulpit.

After solemn supplications to the Great Head of the Ch^h for Light & Direction.

I. Voted, To chuse a fit Person to Preach with us the two following Sabbaths.

II. Voted, That Mr *Andrew Eliot* be desired to preach one part of the Day the two next Sabbaths.

III. Voted, To proceed to the choice of a suitable Person to settle with us in the Pastoral Office, on Monday January 11th next ensuing.

IV. Voted, That this Meeting be Adjourned to said Day, The Brethren to meet at 11 o'th Clock A. M. and that our Brethren of the congregation be desired to meet at y^e Meeting House at 3 o'clock in the Afternoon on said Day, That the Church may communicate their choice to them and (if it may be) obtain their concurrence with us in said choice.

January 11th 1741, 2.

The Brethren being met by adjournment at 11 o'Clock A. M. agreeable to their own vote of December 28th for the choice of a Pastor:

After solemn Supplications to the Great and Glorious Head of the Ch^h for Light & Direction; and a Short Exhortation to the Brethren to act agreeable to their holy Profession in an Affair of so great Importance:

I. The Brethren proceeded to give in their written votes for the choice of a Pastor: and upon numbering and sorting the votes, it appeared that Mr *Andrew Eliot*, had a majority of 63 out of 82, to be our Pastor.

II. But before the vote was published to the Brethren they were desired by a handy vote to express how far they were disposed to sit down

*Lately Gee¹
who voted for
Mr Eliot

easy by the Majority on whomsoever the Lot should fall. whereupon (as far as we could discern) there was (excepting * one) a unanimous lifting up of y^e hands of y^e Brethren.

[240] III. Voted, That the Committee to be chosen to treat with Mr Eliot about his settlement with us in the work of y^e Ministry treat with him according to y^e Rules agreed upon by y^e Brethren, relating to the Settlement of a Pastor, at their Meeting July 9. 1739. and not receive an affirmative answer, till said Eliot had complied with the Desire of the Brethren exprest in them.

IV. Voted, That the Pastor, Elders & Deacons with our Brethren Mess.^{rs} Peleg Wiswal, William Parkman and William Owen, be a committee of the Chh on this occasion, and make their Report to the Brethren in convenient time.

At 4 o'Clock P. M.

The Brethren of the Congregation met at the Desire of Chh; and after solemn Supplications &c The Pastor laid before them the choice the Chh had made of Mr Eliot to be their Pastor; and then desired said Brethren to express how far they cou'd concur with y^e Church in said choice: and upon bringing in their written Votes, it appeared that 72 out of 80 Voters, exprest their ready Concurrence with their Brethren of the Chh in this important Affair; and no one present exprest y^e least uneasiness at y^e Transactions of y^e Day.²

February 21th

The Brethren being desired to tarry after the Congregation was dismissed; The Pastor communicated to them a Confession of Faith he had received from Mr Andrew Eliot, in compliance with the Desires of the Church: which Confession was distinctly Read, and accepted as satisfactory to the Brethren, by a unanimous Lifting up of their Hands.

February 28th

Mr Andrew Eliot gave us an Answer in the *Affirmative* to the Invitation we had given him to settle with [us] in the Evangelical Ministry.

¹ Lately Gee, an influential, though blind, man and a zealous friend of Mr. Eliot, was son of John and Joane Gee; was born in Boston 4 February, 1687-88; was cousin to the Rev. Joshua Gee; and married Sarah Ellise, 2 November, 1710. On the previous thirteenth of September, his intention of marriage with Priscilla Thornton was published (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 174, xxviii. 28, 32). See also Historical Notices, etc., p. 20.

² We have here a reminder of the quarrel when the Rev. Peter Thacher of Weymouth was settled as the first colleague of the Rev. Mr. Webb, in 1719, which resulted in the founding of the New Brick Church.

March 23^d

A Day of Prayer kept by the Chh and Congregation for the more plentifull *Out-pourings* of the Holy Spirit on ourselves and others.

April 14th 1742.

The Reverend Mr Andrew Eliot ordained to the Pas-[241]toral office over us in the Lord. The Chhs sent to, and assisting in this important Affair, were the *Old-Church*, *The Old North-Chh*, the *Old South-Chh*, *The Chh meeting in Brattle-Street*, and the *Chh meeting in the New-Brick meeting House in middle-Street*, all in Boston; and the *first Chh of Christ in Cambridge*.

Mr. Eliot was born in Boston 25 December, 1719, was educated at the Boston Latin School, graduated at Harvard College in 1737, and died in Boston 13 September, 1778. The Records of the First Church in Cambridge, under Admissions, contain this entry:

1738 Aug. 13 Sir Eliot Andrew, — Student¹

In the Records of the New North Church, under Admissions to Full Communion, we find:

1742 March 14 Rd. Andrew Eliot by Dismissal from Cambridge² (p. 20).

Whether the paper which is now before us was read to the Church in Cambridge when Mr. Eliot was admitted to its fellowship in 1738 or to the New North Church on his admission to it in 1742, or whether it is the "Confession of Faith" referred to above as having been "distinctly Read, and accepted as Satisfactory to the Brethren" on 21 February, 1741-42, is a question which may appropriately be referred to the clerical members of the Society.

¹ Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England (1906), p. 100. By an unfortunate mistake this entry is erroneously indexed under the surname Andrew.

² The Records of the New North Church, besides being remarkably full as regards the doings of the members, contain upwards of six thousand entries of admissions, baptisms, marriages and deaths covering more than a century, beginning with 1714. As these entries relate to the Cabot, Barrett, Parkman, and other prominent North End families during a period when the public vital records of the town of Boston are very imperfect, it is much to be desired that these valuable and important Records should be printed and indexed, and thus be made available to students and scholars interested in the history of Boston and its families.

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL made the following communication:

I wish to bring to your attention an old document which may interest you, as it has me, because of its form as well as for the names of so many interesting people mentioned in it. Though I do not remember to have seen before a bond of this form, our associate Professor Kittredge kindly informs me that it is in the regular old form of such bonds for loans. It will be noted that the forfeiture is about double the sum borrowed. It is the kind of document which Shakspere had in mind when he made Macbeth say: "I'll make assurance double sure, and take a bond of fate." The document follows.

Know all men by these presents that Wee Uriah Leonard of Taunton in the County of Bristol in New England Bloomer as Principall, and Stephen Marick of Taunton afores^d Husbandman, and Nathanael Hall of Boston in New England aforesd Physitian as Suertyes, are held and stand firmly bound and Obliged unto Peter Sergeant of Boston aforesd Esq^r Benjamin Browne of Salem in New England aforesaid Merch^t and Obadiah Gill of Boston afore's^d Shipwright as Executo^{rs} to the Last will and Testament of Capⁿ Thomas Smith, Late of Boston aforesd Marriner dec^d in the ffull and just summe of One hundred and Ninetyone pounds Current money of New England To be paid unto the said Peter Sergeant, Benjamin Browne, and Obadiah Gill as Exe^{rs} aforesd or to either or any of them their or either or any of their Certaine Attorney Executo^{rs} Administo^{rs} or assignes to and for the only proper Use and behoofe of the Children of the s^d Thomas Smith dec^d, To the which payment well & truely to be made Wee bind ourselves and each & every of us by himself joynly and severally for the whole and in the whole our and each & every of our heires Executo^{rs} and Administo^{rs} firmly by these presents Sealed with our seals Dated the Seaventeenth day of January Anno Domⁱ 1695/6 Annoq^r RR^s Guliel tertij Anglicæ &c Septimo

THE CONDITION of this present Obliga^{cōn} is such that if the Above-bound Uriah Leonard, Stephen Marick and Nathanael Hall or either or any of them their or either or any of their heires Executo^{rs} or adm^{rs} shall and doe well and truely pay or cause to be paid unto y^e abovenamed Peter Sergeant, Benjamin Browne and Obadiah Gill as Ex^{rs} afores^d; or to either or any of them their or either or any of their heires Ex^{rs} adm^{rs} certaine Attorney or assignes in Boston aforesd for the Use aforesd,

the full and just summe of Fifty and Nine Pounds in the Now p^rsent Current money of New England in manner and Forme following That is to say three pounds thereof on or before the Seaventeenth day of January Which will be in the Yeare of our Lord 1696/7 and the Summe of Three pounds more thereof on or before the Eighteenth day of January which will be in the Yeare of our Lord 1697/8 and the remaining Summe of Fifty three pounds thereof on or before the Seaventeenth day of January Which will bee in the yeare of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Ninety and Eight/9 without fraud coven or farther delay That then this present Obliga~~con~~ to be utterly, Void and of none Effect, Butt if default happen to be made in any or either of the sd payments Contrary to the True intent hereof Then to abide and remaine in Full force strength and Virtue.

Signed Sealed & Deliu^d

in p^rsence of us

WILLIAM HUBBARD

ELIEZER MOODY Scr:

URIAH LEONARD [Seal]

STEPHEN MARICK [Seal]

NATH HALL [Seal]

Uriah Leonard was of that family of Leonards of whom it was said, "where you can find Iron works there you will find a Leonard." They were interested at Lynn, Rowley Village, Braintree, Taunton, and later at Canton. They were strong, long-lived and successful men. James, father of Uriah, was at Lynn in 1651 and at Braintree in 1652; and with his brother Henry he established the forge at Taunton (now Raynham), having obtained permission from the town in 1652.¹

Uriah was born April 10, 1662, and married June 1, 1685, Elizabeth Caswell, born January 10, 1664–65, daughter of Thomas Caswell of Taunton, by whom he had several children.

King Philip had a summer place near the forge, and the Rev. Peres Fobes, in his description of Raynham, says: "Philip and these Leonards, it seems, long lived in good neighbourhood, and often traded with each other: and such was Philip's friendship, that as soon as the war broke out, which was in 1675, he gave out strict orders to all his Indians, never to hurt the Leonards." But for all that, when about thirteen or fourteen, —

Uriah Leonard . . . as he was riding from Taunton to the forge in this place, was discovered and fired upon by the Indians. He instantly

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, v. 403–414.

plucked off his hat, swung it around, which startled his horse, and in full career, he reached the forge dam without a wound; but several bullets were shot through the hat he held in his hand, and through the neck of the horse near the mane, from which the blood on both sides gushed and ran down on both legs.¹

In the cellar under the old Leonard house the head of King Philip was deposited for a considerable time. James, the father, died in 1691 and Uriah sold his portion of the iron works in 1699.

Stephen Merrick was the son of William Merrick, who came from Wales to Charlestown in the spring of 1636. Stephen was born in Eastham, May 12, 1646, where he married December 28, 1671, Mercy, daughter of Edward Bangs. In 1672 he moved to Norwich, Connecticut, where he bought a plantation and where he was constable in 1681 and county sheriff in 1685. His wife died and he married January 25, 1691–92, Anna Wilbore at Taunton. He was a man of importance in Taunton and left a large property, when he died there in 1705. He had many dealings with the old iron works, and the old books show that he received iron for money in the settlement of his accounts and as dividend on his share in the works. His will was made in 1696 and among the preliminary statements he says, "but purposing to goe forth to walk in the present expedition on foot against the Indian enemy." In his will, besides devising the personal property, he says: "As to all my land and priviledges lying within the Township of Norwich I give it to my three daughters." He, however, provides that his wife may sell any part or the whole of those lands, in case of necessity.²

Nathaniel Hall,³ baptized in Yarmouth February 8, 1646, was son of John Hall, who came from Coventry in Warwickshire to Charlestown in 1630. John was on the list of church members in Charlestown, July 30, 1630; made a freeman May 14, 1634; and was a resident of Barnstable in 1640. He was constable in Barnstable and highway surveyor and member of the grand inquest in Yarmouth, where he died at an advanced age in 1696.

¹ 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 166–173.

² G. B. Merrick, Merrick Genealogy (1902), pp. 15–17.

³ See D. B. Hall, Halls of New England (1883), pp. 211–215; Swift, History of Old Yarmouth, pp. 100–102; Genealogical Notes of Barnstable Families, i. 450–456.

His son, Nathaniel, married Anna, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Thornton of Yarmouth. He was a corporal in the first expedition against the Indians at Mount Hope in June, 1675. In the second expedition, in 1676, he was a sergeant under Captain John Gorham; and was severely wounded at the Great Swamp Fight. For this, the Court, July 7, 1681, allowed him a pension of fifteen pounds and all fines imposed on persons in Yarmouth who were convicted of selling spirituous liquors by retail. June 9, 1683, five pounds were allowed him for his continued lameness; and it is recorded June 5, 1684, that forty pounds had been paid to him in money, and he was offered an annual pension of £5. In final settlement of his claim, £30 more were raised and an annual pension of £6 per annum for life was offered, which he accepted June 2, 1685.¹

He was granted by the Court —

the sole liberty and priveledge of keeping a house of public entertainment in Yarmouth, to retail all sorts of strong drink, without further license during the natural life of said Hall, with one half of all the fines taken of any English person for retailing strong drink, without license, in said Yarmouth.

He was constituted an agent to prosecute all offenders, and all others were forbidden to sell wines or spirituous liquors. It was only at his house that travellers could obtain a lodging and, in consequence, it was thronged with customers and became the resort of the intemperate and undesirable. In two years he became dissatisfied, and his very pious wife disgusted, with the business, so on September 17, 1690, he sold out to Joseph Taylor, who was later complained of and fined four pounds. This led to litigation between Hall and Taylor, but through a legal quibble Hall finally prevailed.

In February 1686-87, when Hall was contemplating a removal to Boston, Richard Henchman, the schoolmaster in Yarmouth, in a letter to Dr. Increase Mather, says:

There is in this town one Mr. Nathaniel Hall, a man descended of eminently religious parents: who were very happy in all their children, being nine sons, men whom this Nathaniel is reckoned to excel, who, in the late wars, received a wound (the bullet remaining in his body) that has taken away, in a great measure, the use of one of his arms.

¹ Plymouth Colony Records, vi. 65, 112, 130, 132, 169.

Being unable to do any business requiring physical strength, aided by his father-in-law the Rev. Mr. Thornton (who was a physician as well as a minister), he spent his spare time in studying surgery and medicine. He became quite skilful and performed several difficult operations with success. In 1687 he had recovered in a great measure from the effects of his wounds and proposed to remove to Boston and establish himself as a physician in that town. In 1689 he was captain of a body of troops about Casco Bay and on September 21, 1689, under Major Benjamin Church, he "fought with great bravery" in the defence of Falmouth.¹ In this engagement, his company was first engaged and did efficient service and lost most men. When Church was about to return home, —

It is Ordered that Cap^t Nathaniell Hall is to take Charge as Commander in Chief of those fforces that are left for the defence of the abovesaid three Townes [Falmouth, Scarborough, and Saco], Those Soildiers that belong to ffort Loyall only to be under the Commander of s^d ffort.²

In a petition to Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, the Council and General Court, held at Boston, June 13, 1695, he says that he was greatly importuned by Sir William Phips to serve in an expedition to Pemaquid, when the fort was building there, when the Governor (Phips) and Major Richards promised him not less than six pounds per month, but that, after twenty-six weeks service, on his return, with leave and order, he has not received more than five pounds per month. This he considered grievous. He also says that he —

had served with his own Medicines in the Cure of many sick & wounded seamen & soldiers on their Return from Canada, he made conscience to charge in his Account as reasonably as could be afforded, & the Surgeons that were appointed to audite his Accompt, found it reasonable: Yet notwithstanding, he received but twenty two pounds, whereas his account amounted to twenty seven pounds odd money . . . by an Act of a General Court holden at Plimouth, [he] formerly had a Pension allowed him during life, in compensation for the loss of the use of one of his Armes, which was occasioned by a dangerous wound he received at the Narraganset-ffight, but has fallen short of five pounds p year of said

¹ Church, History of Philip's War (Drake's edition, 1829), p. 170, and cf. Dexter's edition (1867), ii. 10 note.

² Documentary History of the State of Maine, v. 4.

Pension, ever since the arrival of Sir Edmond Andross; yet has he not been backward to pay all rates and taxes imposed on him, nor would he now appear, if he could comfortably comply with what his rates and engagements are.

His account was —

ffor Wages at Pemaquid	£13 00
ffor what he did for sick & wounded men	05 00
By Arreares of Pension 9 yeares	45 00
	<hr/> £63 00 ¹

The petition was read November 30, 1695, and it was voted —

That Cap^t Nath: Hall shall haue fifty pounds paid out of the Treasury of this Province in ffull for his Wages at Pemaquid (yet due) & for what he did for Sick and wounded men, and for all he demands for his stypend or pension of fiue pounds a yeare duering his life (or in Plymouth late Colony) — *But his Lycence granted him to keep an Ordinary in Yarmouth in the County of Barnstable by y^e late General Court in Plymouth is Still to Remaine to him & his Assigns According to that Courts Grant.*²

He was a practising physician in Hingham very early in the eighteenth century and probably succeeded Dr. John Cutler, who removed before 1700.³ In 1713 he sold his home in Hingham, between South Street and the meeting-house of the First Parish, to Joshua Tucker, and moved to Lewes, Sussex County, Pennsylvania, where he was said to be living in 1716. He had no children. His name appears in the Boston tax lists in 1691 and as an inhabitant in 1695.⁴

Peter Sergeant, merchant, came in 1667 from London. On September 25, 1677, "Libertie was granted to Mr. Pet^r Serjeant to set vp a Lime kilne vpon the clay hill neere Fox hill, If it be done with the aduice & approbation of Deacon Eliott;" and August 30, 1680, it was ordered that Peter Sergeant "be paide for six halfe barr^{11s} of powd^r made vse of, for blowinge vp of houses in the last greate Fire."⁵

¹ Massachusetts Province Laws, vii. 92.

² vii. 486. The order was allowed December 11, 1695, after striking out the words printed in italics.

³ History of Hingham, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 314.

⁴ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, i. 148, 163.

⁵ vii. 113, 141.

He was a strong opponent of Andros and was one of a committee which sent to the Governor a paper, dated at the Town House, April 18, 1689, saying that they were —

surprised with the people's sudden taking up arms; in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, being driven by the present accident, are necessitated to acquaint your Excellency, that for the quieting and securing of the people inhabiting in this country from the imminent dangers they many ways lie open and exposed to, and tendering your own safety, we judge it necessary you forthwith surrender and deliver up the Government and Fortifications, to be preserved and disposed according to order and direction from the Crown of England, which suddenly is expected may arrive; promising all security from violence to yourself or any of your gentlemen, or soldiers in person and estate; otherwise we are assured they will endeavor the taking of the Fortifications by storm, if any opposition be made.¹

He was appointed one of the Commissioners for the special Court of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of the witches for the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, June 13, 1692. He occupied many other positions of trust and responsibility. He built and occupied the building, afterward purchased by the Province, as a residence for the governors, later known as the Province House. His first wife died November 10, 1700, and he married October 9 of the following year Mary, widow of Sir William Phips; and December 19, 1706, he married, third, Mehitable, widow of Thomas Cooper. He died February 8, 1714.²

Benjamin Brown was the son of William Brown. He married Mary, the daughter of John Hicks, a nonconformist minister in England, in 1686, in which year she came with the Rev. Charles Morton and settled in Charlestown. Her father, who had a brother, George Hicks, D.D., of a Yorkshire family, and Dean of Worcester, was executed at Revington Green April, 13, 1686, on the charge of being concerned in Monmouth's Rebellion. Benjamin Brown was a man of much influence in Salem and was selectman, deputy to the General Court several times; justice of the court of sessions and one of the assistants, 1701-1703. His wife and two children died before

¹ Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 483 note.

² Drake, p. 524; Sewall's Diary, i. 359 note.

he did. He died December 7, 1708, and left a large property, estimated at £30,000. Felt says, "He lived to be useful. He was an ornament to his town and country."¹

Obadiah Gill was a man of prominence in the Colony and served in various offices: constable, surveyor of highways, selectman, assessor, etc.; until, when elected selectman March 11, 1700, he declined to serve. After the great fire of 1676, a fire engine had been imported from England, the first in Boston, and on January 27, 1678-79, he was appointed a member of the first company which had charge of it. With others, February 8, 1687-88, he was fined one silver mark for refusing to lay hands upon the Bible in swearing and on March 30, 1688, he was imprisoned for not paying the fine, but he paid it and "lay not one night in prison."²

Thomas Smith married Rebecca, daughter of Habakkuk Glover and Hannah Eliot, daughter of the Apostle Eliot, who were married May 4, 1653.³ Glover was a tanner and a man of good estate, made freeman 1650. On February 19, 1673, Habakkuk Glover and wife Hannah deeded to Thomas Smith and Rebecca, wife of Thomas Smith, mariner, one half of his house, now in possession of said Smith, and a portion of a garden plot, near the Castle Tavern (corner of Elm Street and Dock Square). He reserved the other half of the house, then in his possession, for his own use.⁴

On May 1, 1685, Sewall records: "Mr. Tho. Smith from Barbados brings the Honourable Francis Bond, one of His Majesty's Council for that Island, and of a great Estate, also one Mr. Middleton; Former comes to recover his health." Again September 15, 1685: "Mr. Bond . . . sails in Mr. Smith." April 22, 1686, he writes: "Mr. Tho. Smith comes to Nantasket; was much feared to be lost." November 8, 1688, again: "Capt. Tho. Smith dies about 5. mane; buried Nov. 10. Where the Corps was set was the room where first my Father Hull had me to see the manner of the Merchants, I sup-

¹ See Felt, Annals of Salem (1827), pp. 346, 545; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlvi. 238.

² See Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 431; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 125.

³ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 43.

⁴ Suffolk Deeds, viii. 322-324.

pose now above twelve years agoe. . . . Mr. Serjt and Benj. Brown led the widow; buried in the old burying-place.”¹

His will, dated October 30, 1688, contains many bequests.²

William Hubbard came to Boston in 1630 with his father William, who settled in Ipswich in 1635, where he was one of the wealthiest and most respectable of the first inhabitants. William was born in England and graduated in the first class from Harvard in 1642. In 1656 he became the colleague of the Rev. Thomas Cobbet, minister in Ipswich. He continued to officiate until 1703, but the church records show that on August 2, 1702, “The Rev’d Mr. Hubbard detained the Brethren of the Church and signified and declared his inability (thro age) to carry on the work of the ministry any longer among them, and desired that they would take care and procure help to carry on sd work.”³ Of his History of the Indian Wars, it has been said, “If, in the seventeenth century, was produced in America any prose work which, for its almost universal diffusion among the people, deserves the name of an American classic, it is this work.”⁴ His History of New England remained in manuscript until 1815. John Dunton, in writing to his wife, describes him thus: “His writing of the History of the Indian Wars shews him to be a person of good parts and understanding. He is a sober, grave and well accomplished man—a good preacher (as all the town affirm, for I did n’t hear him) and one that lives according to his preaching.”

He married first Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and secondly Mary Pearce, widow of Samuel Pearce. The latter marriage was very objectionable to the church, because they did not consider her of sufficient distinction to be the minister’s wife. He expended his patrimony, which was large, and left his widow in indigence, at his death, September 14, 1704. At a town meeting, March 14, 1709–10, it was voted that £20 money be added to town rates for supplying Mrs. Hubbard in her distressed condition. She died the next year.

¹ Sewall’s Diary, i. 71, 96, 134, 235.

² Suffolk Probate Files, no. 1672.

³ See Hammatt Papers, pp. 167–169; Waters, Ipswich, pp. 146, 157, 357.

⁴ Tyler, History of American Literature, i. 335.

Eliezer Moody appears to have been an assistant to John Hayward, "Scr.," for we find him witnessing legal documents with him, as early as 1677, as servant.¹ Later he generally signs himself as servant, sometimes as servant to John Hayward Scr., occasionally as Eliezer Moody, and at times adding a final "e" to his name. Some time in 1684 he seems to have left the service of Hayward, after which he subscribes himself Eliezer Moody Scr. In addition to other duties, he appears to have given lessons in writing, for under date of May 14, 1688, Sewall records, "Put Sam to Eliezer Moodey to learn to write."² He was made a freeman in 1690 and March 11, 1694-95, he was appointed constable, but refused to serve and paid his fine. On March 12, 1696, he witnessed an agreement of Samuel Bridge to build a shop under the Town House.³

The Rev. CHARLES E. PARK spoke as follows:

Two mural tablets have recently been placed in the nave of the First Church in Boston — one to the memory of Thomas Oliver,⁴ a ruling elder under the Rev. John Cotton; the other to the memory of Robert Treat Paine, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The inscriptions on these tablets are as follows:

THOMAS OLIVER
ARRIVED IN BOSTON 5 JUNE 1632
A RULING ELDER IN THIS CHURCH
1632—1657
DIED 1 JANUARY 1657-58
AET. 90

RESPECTED AS TOWN OFFICER
TRUSTED AS CHIRURGEON
BELOVED AS NEIGHBOR AND FRIEND
HIS MEMORY HAS BEEN HONORED
BY MANY
ILLUSTRIOS DESCENDANTS

¹ Suffolk Deeds, x.

² Diary, i. 213.

³ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 219, x. 136.

⁴ See Mr. Park's sketch of Oliver, pp. 92-94, above.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE
1731—1814

PATRIOT STATESMAN JURIST

DELEGATE FROM MASSACHUSETTS
TO THE
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS
HE SIGNED THE
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
1776

ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH
1777—1790

JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT
1790—1804

HIS LOYALTY
TO THE CAUSE OF CIVIL LIBERTY
LED HIM TO SHARE IN
THE BOLDEST ACTION OF HIS TIME

LEARNED IN THE LAW
HE HELPED TO ESTABLISH THE
SOUND JUDICIAL TRADITIONS OF THE
COMMONWEALTH
AND GAVE TO HER SERVICE
THE BEST YEARS OF A LONG LIFE

When the inscription on the Paine tablet was being written, a question arose as to the authorship of a "Sketch of the Character of the late Hon. Robert Treat Paine, LL.D., extracted from a Sermon, delivered at the First Church in Boston, the Sabbath after his decease," which appeared in a leaflet of four pages without a title-page. This question was settled by the finding of the following paragraph in the Columbian Centinel of Wednesday, May 18, 1814:

 The funeral Sermon of the late venerable Judge PAINE, preached by the Rev. Mr. M'KEAN, on Sunday, had for its text a passage of scripture most happily appropriate to the character of that distinguished Patriot and Judge — Job XXIX. 14 — "*I put on righteousness and it clothed me, my judgment was a robe and a diadem*" (p. 2/4).

Mr. Justice Paine was born March 12, 1730-31, in Boston, where he died May 11, 1814, in his eighty-fourth year.

The following letter, drawn from the Harvard College archives, gives an interesting account of the ownership of the portrait of the Rev. Samuel Willard, Vice-President of Harvard College from 1700 to 1707. The writer was that Robert Treat Paine who was known in his family as "the astronomer." He was born in 1803, graduated at Harvard in 1822, and died in 1885. He was a grandson of Robert Treat Paine (H. C. 1749) the Signer, and a son of Robert Treat Paine (H. C. 1792) the poet, — Mr. Justice Paine's second son, who died in 1811. Two daughters of Judge Paine — Mary, wife of Elisha Clapp, and Maria Antoinette, wife of Samuel Greele — died early in 1842, which accounts for the fact stated in the letter, that the portrait of Mr. Willard came in that year into the possession of the Judge's grandchildren.

The text of the letter follows:

BOSTON, May 23, 1842.

FOR THE PRESIDENT AND CORPORATION OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

GENTLEMEN:

A portrait of the Rev. Samuel Willard for many years the pastor of the Old South Church in this city and from 1701-1707 the President of Harvard College having recently come into my possession, I take the liberty hereby to tender the same to your acceptance.

According to the information uniformly given me, this portrait was the property of his eldest daughter, Mrs. Abigail Treat, who about the time of her death, which took place in 1747, gave it to her grandson, the late Judge Paine; in 1814 it became the property of his children and within a few weeks last past, his grandchildren.

I have been the more inclined to offer you this portrait in consequence of having been informed that no other of President Willard is known to exist.

Believe me Gentlemen
most respectfully
your obedt sevt.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

Mr. FARWELL exhibited a copy of the Rev. Samuel Willard's book entitled *The Fountain Opened*, printed at Boston in 1700 by Bartholomew Green and John Allen for Samuel Sewall, Jr.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1911

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 February, 1911, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. MARK ANTONY DEWOLFE HOWE and Dr. CHARLES PICKERING PUTNAM, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE exhibited a photograph of a fine portrait of Washington in the possession of Professor F. Wulff of Lund, Sweden, thought to have been painted in the eighteenth century by a French artist. It is clearly a copy of the Lansdowne portrait by Stuart. Professor Wulff had the kindness to send a photograph of this portrait for exhibition to the Society.¹

Mr. KITTREDGE also exhibited a photograph of a page of an Irish manuscript belonging to the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; and spoke as follows:

AN IRISH SONG RELATING TO WASHINGTON

Dr. Tom Peete Cross of Harvard University recently informed me of the existence of a manuscript in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy containing a short eighteenth-century poem about Washington. At my request, Dr. Cross procured for me a photograph

¹ Dr. Henry Goddard Leach of Harvard University called Mr. Kittredge's attention to the portrait and procured the photograph from Professor Wulff. Dr. Leach recognized the photograph as of the Lansdowne type.

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Tomar ò Miðaícam CCT Vir Washingtonis Prolech, Dom Réam fóir sin iud in feab

Aicreola comair na ngeleidil ecomair do scoppiceas impreannach mib
ta ghearras amprac a phlé le bhuiseas an tairm fóir uncial croise
sin leat sonas do teaghlach cuimhne a ceann ag dromadach na dleath
So spéal meáitíz muisce. So deníneac sonata na bheile. fóir is pídeann

If fóir is fír leam. Cúine fia fáthairtach tábhairtach trascúta cárca
Is a chrobbé Washington cabhairtach calma a ceann is a ceann a mísíú
sin ainnis ag scíobhadh san éirí san éirí san tráip san bhealaibh is tweid.
If fe fátham so deníte bhrí na breacaine a bhuine fa tegmam leath

Deir an chriúin leasach da caille dílisceach ceart dileas
An tairm fáthairtach fóilimach príomhaí Síleach sonairtach Suibhse
briald neamh ag filíodh so roisil an fóilidh céad fóir is fír agus tairisí
Tá an tairm ag filíodh le hár gan dríleas fia heireas ag linnis ag alainne
So sion am fóig le mien domhandaí ag déanadh an tairisí in corda cam
an tis san doimhne nac níos cosúil níos eascaí Portas go húdhaigh go dtí a pipe
Cúis an fúrach don doimpíoch tonair is neamh connach cinnibhach
A chreidimh bhoisearach leas mhuile. I. Chroíair is chion do cosa cum píreij

Tomar ò miðaícam CCT. Píomphadair éan
Tá an tairm le hár gan dríleas fia heireas níos eascaí —

Do chuid tráip fáilteach ag dámh fóig cléam
Do bhrí san fóileas agus da chuid píreij
Is bhrí le hár is agus nac píreij a epiocmhá báin
Fóilidh agus tairisí a fáilteach Píreij fóir

Dúisí an fíor an tairisí deas is abhais scéim
Is imbal so beagán biquinil corr tráid molley
Is a fáilteach si píomphadair tairisí laethaí a ceannair
Uingeannach meannach san éan fáilteach

A poem by Thomas O'Leahy mentioning Washington
from the original in
Royal Irish Academy, Ms. 23, L. 3.5, p. 128



of the page that bears the poem.¹ This page is presented in full-size facsimile. For the following transliteration and translation I am indebted to Dr. Cross and Professor F. N. Robinson.

The poem is a song by Thomas O'Miodhachain (O'Meehan), lamenting the woes of the Pretender Charles Edward, but foretelling his final triumph and the restoration of Ireland to the Stuart rule. Incidentally, in a highly picturesque stanza, O'Meehan speaks of the news that has just reached him that Washington has discomfited Howe. The reference must be to the Evacuation of Boston on March 17, 1776. This fixes the date of the song. The manuscript is somewhat later, but was written in the eighteenth century.

Professor Robinson has furnished me with the subjoined note on Thomas O'Meehan, the author of this song:

Very little of O'Meehan's verse seems to have been published. A lamentation, apparently by him, on the death of Mary Baun MacDonnell is printed in Brian O'Looney's edition of the Clare Bards (Dublin, 1863), p. 178, and the editor states that O'Meehan was a schoolmaster of high repute at Ennis, and that he continued to write until 1798. According to the Catalogue of the British Museum, another poem of his is printed as a preliminary address to John Lloyd's Short Tour; or an Impartial Description of the County of Clare, 1780.

The facsimile shows the heading and the first two stanzas of another of O'Meehan's songs, but this has nothing to do with America.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE IRISH TEXT²

Tómás ó Miodhachain cecinit. Air Washington's Frolick. Ar an sean
fhonn Sir (?) Súd an Fear B[]³ gan Bríste.

A chraobha comainn na nGaoithel ccomais do shaoircheap mhuireannach
Mhíledh

Tá tréathlag tuirseach a plæ le bruscar gan réim fé urchall ciosa
Sin scéala⁴ sonais do théarnaigh chugainn a ccéin tar dhromaibh na
díleann

Go bh-fuil méirligh mustair go déighenach gonta na bhéile fiolar is
faoileann.

¹ MS. 23. L. 35, p. 128.

² Contractions are expanded in italics.

³ Read *B[reagh]?*

⁴ Perhaps to be expanded *scealaidhe*.

Is fonn s'is aitheas leam Howe s'na Sagsanaigh tabhartha trascartha choidhche
 Sa crobhaire Washington cabharthach calma a cceann s'a cceannas a righeacht
 Sin amhais ag screadadh gan chúil gan chathair gan trúip gan barcaibh ar taoide
 Is fé samhain go dearbhthe búir na Breataine a b-punc fá thearmain Laoisigh.

D'éis an chluithche-si Éire léigfear da céile dligtheach ceart díleas
 An féinedh fuinneamach faobhrach fulangach Séarlas soineannta Stíobhard
 Biaidh réim ag fileadh s'go saoghal an fhiolair cead féir is uisce ag Gaoidhe-laibh
 Gach géag ag filledh le h-éigean duilledh s'na h-éisg ag lingedh asa lintibh.
 Go saor am fhochair le méin dom fhocalaibh ag dhéanadh an ghortha ó Mhaoidheachan
 An té gan dochma nach n-gléasfaigh¹ portaibh go séidtear gothaibh a pípe
 Taosgam srutha don daor-phunch torainn is reabam cornaibh crín-bhreach
 A Thoirdhealbhaigh brostaigh lead Mhéidhbh *inghin* Chrotaigh is claon do chosa chum rincedh.

TRANSLATION

Thomas O'Meehan cecinit. Air, Washington's Frolick, to the old tune of "Seek Yonder the Fine Fellow without Breeches" (?).

1. O branches of the league of the mighty Gaels, of the noble, long-haired stem of Milesius,² who are exhausted, tired, in their struggle with the rabble, without power, under shackle of tribute!

Those are stories of good fortune that have come to us from afar over the ridges of the sea, — that the arrogant robbers are wounded at last, the food of eagles and sea-gulls.

2. It is a source of joy and triumph in my eyes that Howe and the Saxons are taken and overthrown forever, and that the sturdy Washington, helpful and brave, is at the head and command of his realm.

The hirelings are screeching, without shelter, without city, without

¹ Before *n-gléasfaigh*, *n-glaoghfaigh* is written and then expunged.

² For the suggestion that *miledh* is Milesius, the translators are indebted to Professor Douglas Hyde.

army, without ships on the tide. Verily the boors of Britain before November Day suddenly will be under the bondage of Louis.¹

3. After this exploit, Ireland will be given to her lawful spouse, just, beloved, the vigorous champion, sharp, patient, the innocent Charles Stuart.

Courage shall be with the poet, and, for the lifetime of the eagle, permission to use grass and water shall belong to the Gael, every branch returning with the power of the leaves [i. e. bursting out into fresh leafage], and the fish jumping out of their waters.

4. Freely beside me, with good will to my words, kindling the heat, [sits] O'Meehan, the man without weakness, who will not make ready with tunes till it is blown with the sounds of his pipe. Let us drain rivers of good flowing punch and flourish the ancient drinking-horns.

O Turlough, make haste with thy Meave daughter of Crotach,² and bend thy legs to the dance!

The last stanza is not intelligible in all its details. It is in general a summons to festivity. Turlough and Meave (Medb) are either friends of the poet or types of village lovers.

The "air" of the song is mentioned, in the heading, as "Washington's Frolick" (in English). Mr. James E. Whitney, Jr., obligingly writes that he knows no tune by that name. "I suspect," he adds, "that the song was set to an existent tune to which a new title was given, expressive of the subject — a very common practice."³ This conjecture of Mr. Whitney's is substantiated by the form of the heading, in which an Irish tune is mentioned.

Professor Robinson has had the kindness to give me a stanza of another eighteenth-century Irish poem which also celebrates some victory of Washington over the British. It is as follows, both text and translation being from Professor Douglas Hyde's MacTernan Prize Essay on Gaelic Poetry (*Filidheacht Ghaedhealach*), Dublin, 1903, pages 136–137.

Do labhair 'na dhéigh sin go beusach i nGaoidheilge,
A's d'aithris dam sgéala do mhéadaigh mo chroidhe-se,
Go rabhadur Béaraibh an Bhéarla go claoidhte,
Gan armaibh, gan éadach, gan tréadaibh, gan tíorthaibh.

¹ That *laoisigh* is Louis XVI, is Professor Hyde's suggestion.

² For *Chrotaigh* perhaps we should read *chruthaigh*, "shapely."

³ Letter to Mr. Albert Matthews, March 3, 1911. Cf. p. 259 note 2, below.

Taid caithe i gcarcair 'n-a ndrongaibh gan treoir,
 Faoi fhad-tuirse i nglasaibh ag *Washington* beó,
 I mairg, gan gradam, gan caraid, gan lón,
 A's iad ag sgreadaigh le h-easbuidh na feóla,
 Do chleachtadh na bathlaigh do chaitheamh gan teóra.

She spoke thereafter, notably, in Irish and she told me tidings that swelled my heart how the bears of the English-language were overthrown without arms, without clothing, without flocks, without lands; they were thrown into prison in bands, without patience, beneath weariness, in locks (i. e. locked in) by lively Washington, in woe, without fame, without friend, without provisions, and they screeching with the want of meat which the clowns used to be in the habit of eating without limits (i. e. beyond measure).

Professor Robinson has also been good enough to write to Professor Douglas Hyde, the eminent Irish scholar, with reference to Thomas O'Meehan, and Dr. Hyde, with his usual courtesy, has sent a number of important notes on the subject.

Dr. Hyde writes that, although the song now printed is new to him, he has seen a number of Thomas O'Meehan's poems in manuscript. He adds a reference to another published poem by this author. This was addressed to the Munster poet Tadhg Gaolach O Suilebháin on the occasion of the latter's retirement to religious life. It is printed in Father Dinneen's edition of the poems of Tadhg Gaolach (Gaelic League, Dublin, 1903, pp. 29 ff).

In the same letter, Dr. Hyde suggests the identification of *Laoiseach* (genitive *Laoisigh*), in the second stanza of the Washington song, with Louis XVI of France, which Professor Robinson regards as certainly correct, and which has been adopted in the translation. *Míledh*, in the first line of the song, may be the word for "soldiers," but the proper name Milesius (also proposed by Dr. Hyde) seems more likely to be the proper interpretation.

Concerning the persons named in the last stanza, Dr. Hyde says he can give no information. O'Mhaoidheachain, he writes, seems to be a piper, and a different man from the poet (O'Miodhachain). Turlough and Meave Dr. Hyde takes to be father and daughter, but he does not find the text completely readable as it stands. He suggests, therefore, the emendation *Meidhbh-ingin*, which would be a compound signifying "Meave-like daughter," or "daughter beau-

tiful as Meave" (the famous legendary Queen of Connaught, perhaps the original of Queen Mab). He would also change *Chrotaigh* to *chruthaigh*, "shapely," an emendation already suggested as a possibility by Professor Robinson,¹ but not adopted in the translation. Thus, according to Dr. Hyde's view, the passage would run: "O Turlough, make haste with thy Meave-like, shapely daughter, and bend thy legs to the dance!"

Dr. Hyde offers the emendation *cruinn-bhreac* ("round-speckled") for the epithet *crinbhreach* applied to the drinking-horns in this stanza. The latter is a dubious word, but, since it may mean "ancient" (literally, "withered-speckled"), that translation has been adopted.²

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS remarked that at the close of the Revolution Washington received a congratulatory address from the Yankee Club of Stewartstown, County Tyrone, Ireland. This address has apparently not been preserved, but Washington's reply, dated Mount Vernon, 20 January, 1784, was printed by Sparks. Washington wrote in part:

It is with unfeigned satisfaction, that I accept your congratulation on the late happy and glorious revolution. . . . If, in the course of our successful contest, any good consequences have resulted to the oppressed kingdom of Ireland, it will afford a new source of felicitation to all who respect the interests of humanity.³

Mr. HENRY H. EDES made the following communication:

A few weeks ago an interesting paper was put into my hands⁴ with permission to print it in case it proved to be of sufficient value and unpublished. It is a contemporary copy of Washington's reply to the address of the visiting chiefs of the Delaware Nation, dated

¹ See p. 257 note 2, above.

² As to the air (the Irish name of which is not wholly legible) Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood, the distinguished authority on Irish music, informs Dr. Hyde that the tune is probably that sometimes entitled *Sa Maidin Fear gan Briste* ("In the Morning the Man without Breeches") and better known as *Nora an Chuil Omra* ("Nora of the Amber Hair"). The music, Dr. Flood adds, was printed as "The Poor Thresher" in 1790, and a different version, entitled *Bean Dubh an Ghleanna* ("The Dark Woman of the Glen") is in O'Daly's Poets and Poetry of Munster (see the third edition, Dublin, 1850, p. 184).

³ Writings of Washington, ix. 13-14.

⁴ By Mr. Charles Butler Brooks, who had recently bought it at auction.

at Head Quarters, Middle Brook, 12 May, 1779.¹ From the Library of Congress I have drawn three letters pertaining to this visit of the Delaware chiefs to Washington and to the Congress. As these papers have apparently never been printed and as they will be read with interest in connection with the unpublished reply of Washington, I offer them for publication in our Transactions. Unfortunately the address or speech of the Indians appears not to have been preserved, since our associate Mr. Putnam writes me that the Library of Congress has no copy of it.

The text of these documents follows:

I

GEORGE MORGAN TO GEORGE WASHINGTON²

PRINCETON May 9th 1779

SIR

The Delaware chiefs appointed by their nation to transact all business with the united States are now at my house — They are desirous to make known to your Excellency their situation — and the situation of Indian affairs in general to the Westward, before they do it to Congress — This they wish to do in person, if you please to appoint a time for them to wait on you either at your own quarters, or in the neighbourhood of camp. — There are three chiefs — they have eleven attendants — a part or the whole will wait upon you as your Excellency may direct — I can manage matters so as they shall arrive at any appointed hour — And as to what they have to say, will be committed to writing it will take up the less of your time. As they have thrown asside the use of wampum they will wish to be indulged with your Excellency's written answer. As the disposition of this nation has been and is of infinite consequence to the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania I have thought I could not render my country a more important service than to attend with these chiefs on your Excellency. They have brought three of their sons to place at school under my care, as a testimony of their dis-

¹ There is another contemporary copy of this paper, in the handwriting of Caleb Gibbs, enclosed in Washington's letter of 14 May, 1779, to the President of Congress, in the Papers of the Continental Congress. (Library of Congress, Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington . . . with the Continental Congress, Washington, 1906, p. 306.)

² Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 152, vol. 7, folio 335.

position towards us, and they would very willingly increase the number.
— I shall wait your Excellency's answer &c

GEO. MORGAN

P. S. I have thought it proper to enclose to your Excellency the original address of the Delaware Indians

II

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO JOHN JAY¹

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK May 14th 1779.

SIR,

I have received the honor of your Excellency's favor of the 10th with its several inclosures.

When the order was given to General Glovers Brigade to be held in readiness to march, the comparative state of the Enemy's force and ours, allowing for the troops to be detached on the Western expedition made it indispensable, without risking more important misfortunes in this quarter than could possibly have been hazarded by drawing that Brigade away. But the late detachment sent from New York materially alters the case and has enabled me to suspend the measure, which I have accordingly done — It is however uncertain in the progress of our operations how long it may be in my power to continue those Troops where they now are. This I have signified to the State and have taken occasion to urge the necessity of endeavouring to provide other means of defence. The necessity I am under of being guarded at some essential points often obliges me to weaken others where we are less vulnerable; and have only to apprehend partial evils. Till the general state of our force can be made more adequate to our necessities this will be unavoidable.

The deputies from the Delaware Nation arrived at Head Quarters two days ago. They presented me with a long memorial on various points, which they intend to present also to Congress. I was a little at a loss what answer to give and could have wished they had made their first application there. But as an answer could not be avoided — I thought it safest to couch it in general but friendly terms and to refer them to Congress for a more particular one. Though there is reason to believe, they have not adhered very scrupulously to their pretended friendship — it appeared to me to be our present policy at last to

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 152, vol. 7, folio 331.

conciliate; and in this spirit my answer was conceived. I hope I may not have deviated from the views of Congress. — I send a copy of my answer.

I have the honor to be
With perfect respect & esteem
Sir
Your most obet servant
G^o WASHINGTON

John Jay Esq^r

III

HIS EXCELLENCE GENERAL WASHINGTOS ANSWER TO THE CHIEF MEN, DEPUTIES FROM THE DELAWARE NATION

Brothers

I am happy to see you here. I am glad the long Journey you have made, has done you no harm; & that you are in good health. I am glad also that you left all our friends of the Delaware Nation well.

Brothers

I have read your Paper. The things you have said are weighty things, & I have consider'd them well. The Delaware Nation have shewn their good Will to the United States. They have done wisely & I hope they will never repent. I rejoice in the new assurances you give of their friendship. The things you now offer to do to brighten the Chain, prove your Sincerity. I am sure Congress will run to meet you, & will do everything in their Power to make the Friendship between the people of these States, & their Brethren of the Delaware Nation, last forever.

Brothers.

I am a Warrior. My Words are few & plain but I will make good what I say. — 'T is my business to destroy all the Enemies of these States & to protect their Friends. You have seen how we have withstood the English for four Years; & how their great Armies have dwindled away & come to very little; & how what remains of them in this part of our great Country, are glad to stay upon two or three little Islands — where the Waters & their Ships hinder Us from going to destroy them. — The English, Brothers, are a boasting People. — They talk of doing a great deal; but they do very little. They fly away on their Ships from one part of our Country to another; but as soon as our Warriors get together they leave it & go to some other part. — They took Boston & Philadelphia — two of our greatest Towns; but when they saw our

Warriors in a great Body ready to fall upon them — they were forced to leave them.

Brothers.

We have till lately fought the English all alone. Now the Great King of France is become our Good Brother & Ally. He has taken up the Hatchet with Us, & we have sworn never to bury it, 'till we have punish'd the English & made them sorry for all the wicked things they had in their Hearts to do against these States. And there are other great Kings & Nations on the other side of the big Waters, who love Us & wish Us well — and will not suffer the English to hurt Us.

Brothers

Listen well to what I tell you, & let it sink deep into your Hearts. We love our Friends & will be faithfull to them — as long as they will be faithfull to Us. — We are sure our good Brothers the Delawares will always be so. But we have sworn to take Vengeance on our Enemies & on false Friends. — The other day a handfull of our young Men destroy'd the Settlement of the Onondagas they burnt down all their Houses — destroy'd their Grain & Horses & Cattle — took their Arms away — kill'd several of their Warriors & brought off many Prisoners & obliged the rest to fly into the Woods. — This is but the beginning of the troubles which those Nations, who have taken up the Hatchet against Us will feel

Brothers.

I am sorry to hear you have suffer'd for want of necessaries — or that any of our people have not dealt justly by you. But as you are going to Congress, which is the great Council of the Nation & hold all things in their hands, I shall say nothing about the Supplies you ask. I hope you will receive Satisfaction from them. I assure you — I will do everything in my Power to prevent your receiving any further Injuries & will give the strictest Orders for this purpose. I will severely punish any that shall break them.

Brothers

I am glad you have brought three of the Children of your principal Chiefs to be educated with Us. I am sure Congress will open the Arms of Love to them, & will look upon them as their own Children. And will have them educated accordingly. This is a great Mark of your Confidence & of your desire to preserve the Friendship between the two Nations to the End of Time — and to become one people with your Bretheren of the United States. My Ears hear with pleasure the other Matters you mention. Congress will be glad to hear them to. — You do well to wish to learn our Arts & Ways of Life, & above all the Reli-

gion of Jesus Christ. These will make you a greater & happier People than you are. — Congress will do every thing they can to assist you in this wise Intention; & to tie the Knot of Friendship & Union so fast — that nothing shall ever be able to loose it.

Brothers.

There are some Matters about which I do not open my Lips; because they belong to Congress & not to Us Warriors. You are going to them. They will tell you all you wish to know.

Brothers.

When you have seen all you want to see, I will then wish you a good Journey to Philadelphia. I hope you will find there every thing your Hearts can wish, that when you return home you may be able to tell your Nation good things of us. And I pray God that he may make your Nation wise & strong, that they may always see their true Interest & have Courage to walk in the right Path; and that they may never be deceived by Lies to do any thing against the People of these States who are their Brothers & ought always to be one People with them.

Sign'd

G^o WASHINGTON.

Head Quarters —
Middle Brook. May 12th
1779

Commander in Chief of all
the Armies in the United
State of America

IV

GEORGE MORGAN TO JOHN JAY¹

PRINCETON May 16th 1779

SIR

I have the honour to transmit to Congress, a written representation of the Business, on which the Delaware Indian Deputies now wait on them. I also inclose his Excellency General Washington's Answer to such parts of their Business as lay immediately with him.

So soon as I recover my Family from the derangement these Visiters have put them to, I shall have the honour to present their Chiefs to your Excellency; & be ready to afford every Assistance which may be required of me. Untill then I have directed Captain Dodge to take Care of them at their Lodgings, unless he receives the Orders of Congress or the Board of War to attend on them.

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 163, folio 341.

I am satisfied that the Delaware Nation are disposed to give Congress, such a tract of Land, as, in my Opinion, would satisfie all the Troops of the United States; — or, if set up to Sale, would pay a great Proportion of our National Debt.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Respect,

Your Excellencys
very obedient
hum Servant

GEO: MORGAN

Agent for the United
States of America¹

To
His Excellency
John Jay Esq^r
President in Congress

Mr. MATTHEWS remarked that at an earlier period — about 1754 — the Indians had conferred upon Washington the name of Connotaucarius, though the meaning of this designation has apparently never been discovered;² and continued as follows:

It will interest members of this Society to know that our late associate Mr. Morris H. Morgan was a descendant of Colonel George Morgan. About a year and a half ago I had a correspondence with Mr. Morgan in regard to the nickname of Tammany conferred upon Colonel Morgan by the Delaware Indians. The story has often been told and is first found in print in the Rev. John Heckewelder's Historical Account of the Indian Nations, published in 1819:

¶ When Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton in New Jersey, was, about the year 1776, sent by Congress as an agent to the western Indians, the Delawares conferred on him the name of Tamanend in honour and remembrance of their ancient chief, and as the greatest mark of respect which they could shew to that gentleman, who, they said, had the same address, affability and meekness as their honoured chief, and therefore ought to be named after him (p. 298).

¹ The following passage, under date of 18 May, 1779, is taken from the Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford's edition), xiv. 607:

A letter, of 16, from G. Morgan, agent for Indian affairs in the western district, was read, accompanied with the Indians speech to General Washington, and the General's answer:

Ordered, That the letter be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

² Sparks, ii. 47 note.

George Morgan was appointed Indian agent by Congress on April 10, 1776, and his instructions from Congress were dated April 19 of that year.¹ Mr. Morgan had long sought for confirmation of the above story, but in vain; hence it was with a feeling of distinct pleasure that I was able to send him the required proof. On June 9, 1778, White Eyes began a letter to Morgan with the words "Brother Taiminend," and another on July 19, 1778, with the words "Brother Tamiened."² Since my correspondence with Mr. Morgan, I have found letters written by George Morgan to the Delaware chiefs in which he signed himself "Taimenend" as early as August 30, 1777.³ It would be interesting to ascertain exactly when, and the circumstances under which, the sobriquet was conferred.

Mr. Morgan also wrote me that George Morgan "did not much care for Washington after 1789. I will some day tell you the legend." Mr. Morgan's untimely death prevented my ever hearing the story, but I imagine that it related to Colonel Morgan's settlement in Missouri, whither he went in the spring of 1788, laid out New Madrid, and became involved in the intrigues of the Spaniards.⁴

Mr. E. P. MERRITT exhibited a horn-book⁵ which he had obtained in England a few years ago, and spoke as follows:

I am unable to give any history of this particular example of a horn-book further than the fact that it was obtained several years ago from a reputable firm of antiquarian book dealers in London, who estimated its probable date as about 1750. Except that the page is written and not printed, it has all the customary features of these books. Beginning with the criss-cross or Christ-cross row — that is, the cross, capital A, and the alphabet in lower case letters — it is followed by the alphabet in capitals, the vowels, syllabaries, invocation, and the Lord's Prayer ending with the petition "deliver

¹ Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford's edition), iv. 268, 294–295.

² Pennsylvania Archives, vi. 587, 652.

³ C. Gist's Journals (1893), pp. 281–285.

⁴ See Monette, History of the Valley of the Mississippi, i. 475; Albach, Annals of the West, pp. 505–506; 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xvii. 190.

⁵ The horn-book measures 3 by $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and the oak frame (including handle) $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 inches.

us from evil." The written page is covered with a transparent sheet of horn fastened down by the brass "latten" with sixteen round-headed tacks instead of the customary eight.

Doubtless the estimate of the probable date is arrived at from the rather modern form of the letters and from the use of round tacks instead of the rose-head tacks found in early specimens. The rose-head tack was hammered roughly into four facets, leaving a point or boss in the centre which was sufficiently raised to protect the horn when the book was laid face down.

Even late specimens of horn-books are comparatively rare, although, as is the case with other bibliographical rarities, the interest and consequent demand has brought about an increase in the visible supply. At the Caxton Exhibition in London in 1877 four specimens of the horn-book were exhibited. Five years later at an exhibition in the Mansion House, London, by the Worshipful Company of Horners, after an attempt to make the display as large as possible, eight specimens were shown. When the late Andrew W. Tuer published his *History of the Horn-Book*, London, 1896, he was able after a very considerable investigation and correspondence to note about one hundred and fifty examples.

The earliest citation in the Oxford English Dictionary of the term horn-book appears under date of 1588 from *Love's Labor's Lost*. Sir James Murray states that references become plentiful towards the end of the sixteenth century and infers from this fact that the books themselves were commonly in use at that time.¹ While Mr. Tuer recorded the earliest example known to him as of about 1450, his view as to the period when they were in common use coincided with that of Sir James Murray.

Their general use came to an end about 1800, although sporadic cases are found of their employment early in the nineteenth century. The antiquary William Hone recorded that a wholesale dealer in school supplies in London executed his last order for horn-books in 1799, while in the sixty years preceding he and his predecessor in business had handled several millions.²

The horn-book proper — that is, a written or printed page covered with a sheet of horn — seems to have been peculiar to English speak-

¹ Tuer, *History of the Horn-Book*, i. 5.

² i. 7.

ing peoples. It was widely used in England and America, but practically nowhere else.

With their prevalent use in this country it seems strange that so few specimens from American sources have come to light. Mr. Tuer's investigations, with the assistance of Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, revealed only one copy of American origin, and only three copies in this country from any source, yet it is well known that they were in common use here. In the inventory made in 1700 of the stock of Michael Perry (1666–1700), the Boston book-seller, are these items:¹

16 doz. gilt horne booke	16 s.
38 doz. plain " "	19 s.

But here again, in our country as in England, the interest in this by-gone form of school-book has brought to light new specimens. Mr. George A. Plimpton of New York, a Corresponding Member of this Society, who has a very large collection of school-books, has kindly furnished the following information:

To the best of my knowledge the only horn-books which have been found in this country are the following:

One, described in Tuer's book, came from Vermont. Another was found in Connecticut, now in the possession of the Guilford Historical Society, Guilford, Connecticut. The Van Rensselaer family of New York have an ivory one which they claim came down in their family. I have one which was found in Mexico, also described in Tuer's book. I found one in Princeton, N.J., which shows the ingenuity of the Yankee, for it is so arranged that by moving a small piece of wood other reading matter can be substituted. I recently secured at auction in Boston an ivory horn-book, but have not yet been able to learn its history.

I have eleven or twelve altogether, I think, and also a picture of the earliest known horn-book, about the year 1400.

Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS read extracts from a letter written by his mother, the wife of John Davis — then United States Senator from Massachusetts² — to a kinswoman, the wife of Colonel Joseph Davis of Northborough, Massachu-

¹ G. E. Littlefield, *Early Schools and School-Books of New England*, p. 113.

² John Davis was Governor of Massachusetts in 1833, 1834, 1840, 1841, and United States Senator from 1835 to 1840 and again from 1845 to 1853, when he retired.

setts. The letter is dated Washington, 24 January, 1838, and is in part as follows:

MY DEAR MRS. DAVIS,—

I have often since I have been here thought I would ask you how you do, and whether you are rejoicing that we are so far off that we cannot drop in on our Northborough expeditions and either hurry or retard your meals, just as it suits our own convenience. Be that as it may, if we live to get into old Massachusetts again you will find us pursuing our old habits, and without leave or license coming down to see you whenever we can get a chance. I dare say you will like to know what such a busy body as I can find to do five hundred miles from home — your question is easily answered, — I do nothing, but I will begin by telling you where I live. I am aspiring you know, so I requested Mr. Davis to go upon Capitol Hill. Here I am within five minutes walk of the Capitol, which is built on one of the highest spots in the City. It is a delightfully pleasant spot, but the house is dirty enough for a pig pen. Our landlady is new in the business, and you would laugh to see how some of the crusty old Bachelors here, scold at the want of order. Our mess, as we elegantly call ourselves, consists of three bachelors, Mr. Bell¹ and Lady and ourselves,—and *we* are *all* very pleasant people. We rise when we please, breakfast at nine, read newspapers till ten, fix up at eleven, and at twelve sally out to make calls; for that is the chief end of woman in Washington. When the wiseacres in the Capitol hold out any temptations, we go into, either the Senate or House of Representatives, to kill an hour, and come home to dine at four or five as it may chance to happen; sometimes a *very* long winded man keeps us hungry longer than that, and we take our revenge in scolding. Then we generally after dinner walk a little, and at seven take our tea. In the evening we frequently have some social visitor till nine or ten, when we assemble our Bachelors round what we call a *snack* (how you stare! don't you know what a tray with a slice of cold meat and a bit of bread is?) and there we marry them in imagination to the prettiest girls we can find — Drink either some cold water, or some wine or some apple toddy or some hot whiskey punch, or some *hot plotty*² — and there again I guess I puzzle you — but I shall not tell you what it is for fear of the temperance society — The cold water is the common beverage, as our gentlemen are

¹ Probably John Bell of Nashville, Tennessee, then Member of Congress, and in 1860 a candidate for President.

² "Plotty, a hot drink, composed of wine or spirits with hot water or spices" (Oxford Dictionary). It is a Scotch word.

all temperate. The other affairs are only brought in now and then by way of frolic —

I have visited very little since I came. We were invited to dine with the President; and, of course, went. Everything was splendid. I sat at a table adorned with a *plateau*, made for Bonaparte, and sat under a chandelier which lighted The Tuilleries at the time of his coronation.¹ The White House has been put in order by its present occupant, and is vastly improved — He says he had a hard task to get rid of the smell of cheese;² and in the room where it was cut, he had to air the carpet for many days; to take away the curtains and to paint and white-wash before he could get the victory over it. He has another cheese like that

¹ In the campaign of 1840, much was said in the Whig papers about the splendid appointments and furniture of the "Palace," as they called the White House — thereby reviving a term employed in the War of 1812.

² The following passage is taken from Parton's Life of Andrew Jackson:

To the last day of his residence in the presidential mansion, General Jackson continued to receive proofs that he was still the idol of the people. The eloquence of the opposition had not availed to lessen his general popularity in the least degree. We read of one enthusiastic Jacksonian conveying to Washington, from New York, with banners and bands of music, a prodigious cheese as a present to the retiring chief. The cheese was four feet in diameter, two feet thick, and weighed fourteen hundred pounds — twice as large, said the *Globe*, as the great cheese given to Mr. Jefferson on a similar occasion. The President, after giving away large masses of his cheese to his friends, found that he had still more cheese than he could consume. At his last public reception he caused a piece of the cheese to be presented to all who chose to receive one, an operation that filled the White House with an odor that is pleasant only when there is not too much of it (iii. 626).

From the following contemporary account, taken from Niles' Register of November 28, 1835 (xlix. 212–213), it appears that the cheese was sent during the closing months of Jackson's presidency:

THE JACKSON CHEESE. Yesterday were exhibited in our village ten of the most splendid cheese ever manufactured in this state, or in the nation. Their aggregate weight was 8,150 lbs. highly ornamented with paintings upon the belts and coverings around them, interlarded with appropriate historical extracts and statistics of state and national character. The mammoth cheese, measuring three feet nine inches in diameter, two feet thick and weighing 1,400 pounds was superscribed to Andrew Jackson, president of the United States. It appears from an account in the Pulaski Banner, that there was a great display in transporting them from Sandusky Creek, where made, to Selkirk, where shipped on board the schooner North America for this place. We received the Banner too late for insertion, but it appears that about sixty gray horses were employed in the procession, guns were fired, &c. They will proceed upon the canal via Syracuse, Schenectady, Troy and Albany, thence to New York, at all of which places the citizens will have an opportunity of seeing them. [Oswego (N. Y.) *Observer*.

which General Jackson had cut, and says he knows not what to do with it. What a foolish thing for a man to have made such a present to him or anyone else.

As to the common evening parties, I have attended very few at any time, and shall, therefore, be but a poor judge of their merits. I went to one on Monday night, thinking it was only a social tea party, but I found the house brilliantly lighted and every preparation for a Ball. The room was appropriated to the dancers and the floor was chalked, which for the benefit of my nieces I will describe. As you entered the wide folding doors, you read almost at your feet the words, "the fair," in large ornamental letters — On one side "The Navy," on the other "The Army" — designed, we were told to show that the fair should ever be protected by their gallantry. In the centre was the Coat-of-Arms of the United States. Above "The Constitution," and beneath "The Union," in letters that reached half way across the floor — A rising sun was seen glimmering in the midst — For the amusement of the young folks, hearts enveloped in flames and pierced with the darts of love were seen in various directions, doves cooing, birds chasing butterflies and a tall pine with a vine twining round it, and birds in its branches, were displayed in spots where they seemed appropriate — the whole was encircled with a wreath composed of flowers and grape vines — I ought to have begun by saying that it was a party given by the wife of a military officer residing at the Navy Yard; the designs were therefore emblematic. A fine Band belonging to the Corps stationed there played, while the Ladies soon effaced every vestige of taste upon the floor, and the Constitution and Union were alike trampled under foot; without regard to the Army or Navy which stood by to protect them, but with no power to do it.

How is your good Minister?¹ Well I hope, and his household too. He is a saint if there can be one in mortal mould — good night.

Affectionately yours,
E. DAVIS

¹ The Rev. Joseph Allen (H. C. 1811), the father of our late associate the Rev. Joseph Henry Allen.

MARCH MEETING, 1911

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 March, 1911, at three o'clock in the afternoon, ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. JOHN TROWBRIDGE of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member.

The CHAIRMAN announced the death in Boston, on the sixth instant, of the Hon. FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL, a Resident Member, and spoke as follows

Since our last meeting the society has lost a distinguished name from its roll of membership. Judge Francis Cabot Lowell belonged to a family which has been in the past and is to-day associated with success in business, in literature, in scientific investigation, and in law. Personally Judge Lowell was simple and unostentatious in bearing; and in the performance of his duties, as citizen, as member of the Harvard College Corporation, or as a Federal judge, he sought primarily the approval of his own conscience, caring little for popular endorsement. Not conspicuously brilliant as an advocate, he was nevertheless always to be relied on, and his decisions on the bench were accepted by the bar as the result of patient, discriminating, and unprejudiced investigation. Whatever duty he undertook to perform, whatever position he accepted, faithful service was to be expected from him, and if promotion were a concomitant it might be prophesied. We can ill afford to lose the prestige of his name from our rolls.

On a statement from the CHAIRMAN that an invitation had been received from the American Year-Book Association to

send a delegate to represent the Society in a¹ conference to be held in New York on the twenty-fifth instant to consider the preparation of a dictionary of American biography, similar in plan to the Dictionary of National Biography, it was voted to accept the invitation, and Mr. HENRY H. EDES was appointed.

The Rev. Dr. EDWARD H. Hall read the following paper:

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FIRST CHURCH OF HARTFORD AND THE FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE

The question has arisen of late as to the exact relation of the First Church in Hartford to the First Church in Cambridge. Is the one in any sense an offshoot of the other, or are the two movements independent of each other?

The case is a very simple one, too simple almost to warrant a formal examination; yet as the questions are sometimes asked, and as the circumstances of the separation were quite unusual, it is worth while to state the facts anew. Thomas Hooker, "the Light of the Western Churches," as Cotton Mather styles him, arrived in Boston, in company with John Cotton, September 3, 1633, going at once to the church of Newtown, where he was overjoyed, according to Mather, "to find himself surrounded with his friends, who were come over the year before, to prepare for his reception."¹ The congregation had previously settled temporarily at Mount Wollaston.² Their stay in Newtown was almost equally brief. "Such multitudes," according to Mather, "flocked over to New-England after them, that the plantation of New-Town became too straight for them; . . . accordingly, in the month of June, 1636, they removed an hundred miles to the westward, with a purpose to settle upon the delightful banks of Connecticut River."³ This speedy departure from Newtown, though quite in order in times when the colonists were wont to look about them carefully before making a final settlement, has given rise to much conjecture, for where facts are so scanty the chronicler is led to exercise his ingenuity upon each trivial incident. No doubt

¹ *Magnalia* (1855), i. 342, 265.

² *Winthrop, History of New England* (1853), i. 104.

³ *Magnalia*, i. 342.

many causes contributed; and after events, showing much soreness on the part of Connecticut as to its treatment by the Massachusetts colony, make it not unlikely that the new congregation felt anxious to enjoy a jurisdiction wholly its own.¹ An early historian, writing about half a century after these events, remarks, "Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb."² The words of Dr. George L. Walker, one of the latest and most eminent pastors of the Hartford church, express what may be accepted as a sufficient comment upon the situation: "On the whole, it is neither strange, nor at all discreditable, that the Newtown company should have thought themselves likely to be happier and more useful in some other settlement than that to which the Court had ordered them in 1632. Conscious of the possession of laymen as able as any in the Colony, and of a minister of as great, if of different, qualities as any other, their 'strong bent' to remove, continued and finally prevailed."³ So Hooker and his followers reached Hartford (then also called Newtown⁴) October 11, 1636, and entered upon their independent and notable career.

Meantime, October 3, 1635, Shepard arrived in Boston, and like Hooker before him, betook himself at once to Newtown. A circle of friends had already established themselves there, and, according to Mather, "gladly fetched him from Boston."⁵ This was October, 1635. Hooker's departure from Newtown was in June, 1636. Here then were six months or more when the two leaders, each with his own flock, were in Newtown together. I know of no records which tell of their personal relations or that of the two flocks, thrown as they were into such close juxtaposition. Probably during this period Hooker was already absorbed in arrangements for his new scene of labor. No doubt whatever causes led to the departure for Con-

¹ See letter of Hooker to Winthrop, in Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, i. 1-18.

² Hubbard, General History of New England, p. 173.

³ History of the First Church in Hartford, pp. 82-83.

⁴ The name of the Massachusetts town of Newtown was changed to Cambridge on May 2, 1638; that of the Connecticut town of Newtown was changed to Hartford in February, 1636-37. (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 228; Connecticut Colonial Records, i. 7; Publication of this Society, xii. 56, 58.)

⁵ Magnalia, i. 385.

necticut were already in action, and plans for the separation were under discussion. There is no mystery in the matter, only a certain scantiness in the chronicles, as it would have been so pleasant to know something about this delicate interval. Our curiosity is piqued, and we have many questions to ask, which we cannot answer. All that we know is that as Mather relates:

Mr. Hooker, with his congregation at Cambridge, now removing to Hartford, upon Connecticut river, many comfortable dwellings and considerable demesnes were hereby somewhat prepared for sale to the good people which Mr. Shepard brought over with him, who were loth to lose any more of their short lives, by more tedious removals. Accordingly, taking up their station at Cambridge, Mr. Shepard, with several of his good people, did on the first of the ensuing February, in a vast assembly, wherein were present the magistrates of the colony, with the ministers and messengers of the neighbouring churches, keep a *day of prayer*; in the close of which day they made a *confession of their faith*, with a *declaration* of what regenerating impressions the grace of God had made upon them; and then they entred into their *covenant*, whereby they became a *church*; to which Mr. Cotton in the name of the rest, gave the "right hand of fellowship." However, the ordination of Mr. Shepard . . . was deferred until another day, wherein there was more time to go through the other solemnities proper to such a great occasion.¹

This happened in February, 1636; Hooker left Cambridge in June, 1636. We are to imagine then the new church fully organized while the primitive church was still worshipping in the same settlement. This is one of the cases where no records are eminently good records, as there would seem to have been abundant room for misunderstandings between the dissatisfied assembly preparing for their month's exploration in the wilderness and the eighteen families or more² just gathering with fresh enthusiasm about their beloved pastor. It may be said incidentally that Shepard and his flock were by no means silent spectators of these events, as the town records show that they were immediately active in its affairs.³

It is quite clear that we have the unusual case here of two colonial churches of the earliest dates settled in the same community, but

¹ *Magnalia*, i. 385. See also Winthrop, *History of New England*, i. 214-215; W. Newell, *Discourses and Poems*, pp. 37-74.

² Newell, p. 77.

³ Walker, pp. 83-84; Paige, *History of Cambridge*, pp. 36-39.

entirely distinct from the beginning. The First Church in Cambridge no more represents (nor does it claim to) the original Cambridge congregation, than it represents the First Church in Boston or Salem. Nor is it an instance of a church outgrowing its bounds and sending out offshoots with its blessing to other quarters; the primitive organization simply abandoned its first settlement, leaving another organization already in possession. No doubt any possible friction between the two flocks was lessened by the "comfortable dwellings" which the one party found awaiting their occupancy on their arrival and the other party were only too glad to find ready purchasers for. The arrangement seemed providential, though I do not remember that Cotton Mather, always on the alert for miracles, discovered this very striking instance so ready to his hand. I am happy to eke out his list. In February, 1636, the present First Church in Cambridge came into existence; in June, 1636, the Newtown Church began its second career as the First Church in Hartford. October 11-12, 1883, the Hartford church observed its 250th anniversary,¹ followed by the Cambridge church February 7-14, 1886, with a similar commemoration of its own. The First Church in Hartford is unquestionably the oldest, and might be called, if any such tender relationship can be assumed where so little mutual interest or recognition was shown at the beginning, the mother church.

The only question remaining is as to the original covenant; to which of the two churches, if either, it has recently been asked, does it belong? Once more the answer, as it happens, is too simple to require discussion. Neither the Hartford nor the Cambridge covenant is extant. In the case of our Cambridge covenant, though Mather and Winthrop both allude to its use in Shepard's ordination, unfortunately neither gives its words. Judging from the common practice of the early churches both were no doubt in very simple form as compared with the formidable codes of belief which took their place in later days. So far as we can judge, each new organization produced its own covenant written for the occasion. The covenant of the Salem church, written in consultation with the brethren in Plymouth, is given by Mather in full, on occasion of the formation of the church, August 6, 1629. It is brief and simple, as is also that of Plymouth as it has come down to us.²

¹ Walker, pp. 410, 478.

² *Magnalia*, i. 71.

In many of the churches, as at Salem, there was besides the covenant a Confession of Faith, giving the doctrinal belief in much fuller form,¹ and the churches in general acknowledge such creeds as that agreed upon in the Cambridge Synod of 1640. It is not known however that the Cambridge church possessed any such confession. This is the statement of Dr. McKenzie, who cites the Charlestown covenant, consisting of only two paragraphs, as probably agreeing substantially with that of Cambridge.² Considering the "many-articled" confessions which it was thought necessary, about a century ago, to substitute in many of our older churches for the original formulæ, as in Plymouth and Hartford, we may well rejoice in the simpler utterances in which our colonial fathers gave devout utterance to their faith.

Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON spoke as follows:

We have before us the photograph of a petition³ signed by three hundred and twenty persons of the North of Ireland, and addressed to Governor Shute, assuring him of their sincere and hearty inclination to transport themselves to "that very renowned plantation" over which he ruled. The desire of these people, "gentlemen, ministers, farmers and tradesmen," for greater civil and religious opportunities in New England led them to cross the ocean, many the same summer and others, signers and kin of signers, during the next half century. The reason for their discontent in Ireland, and the story of their life in the Atlantic coast colonies, are subjects to fill a book. But the petition itself is also of reverential interest, signed by so many hands.

Most of the signatures are distinct and well written, many giving evidence of culture and force. The signatures in column H, at the right, headed by those of clergymen, were written first. In the next column to the left (G), one man was obliged to make his mark. There are none unable to write in columns F, E, D, C. Then evidently the gatherer of names found it necessary to fill his remaining space with names of men, some of whom were less well educated, for column B

¹ *Magnalia*, i. 70.

² First Church in Cambridge, p. 32.

³ The original is in the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society at Concord, New Hampshire. See p. 284 note 8, below.

has six who made their marks, and column A (the last to the left) has five. Let us begin with the clergy, and I quote from my recently published Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America:

The petition is headed by the Rev. James Teatte, probably the James Tate who served at Killeshandra, near the town of Cavan, from 1705 to 1729. If he had any ties with the Coleraine presbytery to which most of the clerical signers belonged we have now no means of discovering them.

Of the other clerical signers of this petition a few words only are necessary. Thomas Cobham was ordained at Clough, a village south of Ballymoney in County Antrim, in March, and only a few days before the petition was drawn up. Robert Neilson, an aged minister, whose trembling hand wrote a signature which Mr. Parker in his "Londonderry" very naturally printed "Houston," held no parish although long identified with Kilraughts in the Presbytery of Route (later the Presbytery of Coleraine). William Leech was the minister of Ballymena, County Antrim, 1698–1738, although the historians Killen and Hanna speak of the minister there as Thomas Leech. Robert Higinbotham of Coleraine, John Porter of Bushmills and Henry Neill of Ballyrashane were all members of the Presbytery of Coleraine. The next signer, Thomas Elder, was from County Down, although he may have lived at one time in the Coleraine presbytery, since one of the same name accompanied the Rev. Mr. Neill to the Synod of 1716. James Thomson was to become minister at Ballywillan, near Coleraine, in a few weeks. Alexander Dunlop, a signer, was not a minister in Ulster, nor were two other clerical signers of the petition to Shute, Archibald McCook and Samuel Wilson, of whom nothing is known in the Presbyterian annals of Ulster. Dunlop, McCook and Wilson were Masters of Arts; all the others were Ministers of the Word of God, signing themselves V[erbi] D[ei] M[inister]. The more one studies the list the more one is puzzled by its composition. It appears to have been prepared in some haste by ministers in the Bann Valley, possibly at a presbytery gathering which Tate, Leech, and Elder had attended (pp. 101–102).

When we reach the non-ministerial names the difficulty of identification becomes very great. The same combination of Christian name and surname confronts us all over northern Ireland and in the American colonies, and genealogical investigation has as yet done little to aid us. The ministerial signers in H have been placed in the Bann Valley. G has several names borne by men who are to be found soon

after at Londonderry, New Hampshire, followers of the Rev. James McGregor of Aghadowey, a town near the Bann. Robert Wear and James Nesmith are recorded in the petition, and they (or men of their names) appear later at Londonderry. Robert Given is noted in the petition; David and John Given appear at Londonderry. Just above the name of Robert Wear is that of Peter Fulton, a ruling elder at Macosquin in 1704. Macosquin, the home of the Rev. William Boyd, agent of the first emigrants, adjoins Aghadowey, the parish of the Rev. James McGregor. Thus we have a hint of the residence of the signers at this point in the column. In F we have the first of the Beverleys, a family settled east of the Bann, some of whose members came to Merrymeeting Bay in Maine, and James McKeen, probably the prominent merchant of Ballymoney who came to Londonderry, New Hampshire. Matthew Slarrow appears in this column, and as the name is an unusual one he is doubtless the settler who came to Rutland, Massachusetts. Column D contains the name Andrew McFaden, and we have in his deposition the statement that he came to Maine from Garvagh, a town south of Aghadowey. We may form the conjecture then, that Thomas Grow, whose name appears above McFaden's in the column, lived near Garvagh, and that he is the man who came over the same year and settled with others at Andover in 1718 and 1719.

Column C has the name Randall Alexander, no doubt representing the man of the same name who came to the American Londonderry. Most of the surnames in columns C and B appear in contemporary records about Coleraine, such as Hunter, Gray, Blair, Hendry, Gilmore, Miller, Boyd and Wilson. Many of these appear across the water. Columns A and B contain no names which can be identified with certainty, although James Alexander, James Nesmith, William Caldwell, Alexander McGregor, James Morison, James Cochran, John Gray, James Gilmore, and others bear names identical with those of the McGregor colony that came from the Bann Valley to Londonderry in New Hampshire. Perhaps the final work of collecting signatures was done by the Rev. Mr. Boyd or the Rev. Mr. McGregor in the towns of Macosquin and Aghadowey.

If it be admitted that many whose names appear on the petition did not come over to America, it may be said with assurance that from nearly every family some emigrant went out to the new world.

The petition is subjoined, followed by the names arranged in eight columns (A to H) from left to right:

To His Excellency the Right Honourable Collonel Samuel Suitte,
Governour of New England

We whose names are underwritten Inhabitents of y^e North of Ireland Doe in our own names and in the names of many others our Neighbours, Gentlemen, Ministers, Farmers and Tradesmen, Commissionate, and appoint, our trusty, and well beloved Friend, The Reverend M^r William Boyd of Macasky to repair to His Excellency the Right Honourable Collonel Samuel Suitte Governour of New England, and to assure His Excellency of our sincere, and hearty Inclinations to Transport our selves to that very excellent and renowned Plantation upon our obtaining from his Excellency suitable incouragement. And further to act, and Doe in our names as his Prudence shall direct. Given under our hands this 26th¹ day of March Annoq³ Dom. 1718.²

A

- 1 James Alexander
- 2 James Nesmith
- 3 David Craig
- 4 Neall McNeall
- 5 Thomas Orr
- 6 William Caldwell
- 7 Ja^s Moore Jr
- 8 Wm Slamon³
- 9 Matthew Love
- 10 Robrt Knox
- 11 Alex^{dr} McGregore
- 12 James Trotter
- 13 Alexander M^cNeall
- 14 Robert Ker⁴
- 15 Joseph Watson
- 16 Robert Miller

A

- 17 John Smeally *⁵
- 18 James Morieson
- 19 James Walker
- 20 Robert Walker
- 21 Robert Walker⁶
- 22 Wilam ^{his} X Calual
^{mark}
- 23 Wileam Walker
- 24 Samuel ^{his mark} X Young *
- 25 Alexander Richey *
- 26 James Morieson *
- 27 Josheph ^{his mark} X Beverlam *
- 28 Robert Crage

¹ Perhaps "25th."

² The letters A-H to indicate the columns, and the numbers prefixed to the names, are not in the original but are inserted for convenience.

³ Perfectly distinct, and might be "Seinior." William Slemmons came to Maine.

⁴ Perhaps "Roe."

⁵ An asterisk indicates pale ink.

⁶ A 20 and 21 are not in the same hand.



His Excellency the Right Honourable General Samuel Gridley Howe Governor of New England

The names are undetermined. The citizens of Boston, New England, and in the names of many others our neighbours Gentlemen, Ministers, That
Trade-men, Commissionaries and Appointees of the Royal Colony and Town of Boston, And their Reverend Mr. William Boyl of Boston
Colonel Samuel White Governor of New England, and to all others His Excellency the Right Hon.
renowned Plantation upon our obtaining from his Excellency suitable encouragement. And further to act and do in our names as his Providence shall direct given
the 25th day of March anno Dom. 1718.

Solution of. Inhabitants of the North of Ireland presented to Governor General. June 1st. 1793.

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the Library of the Govr. Hampshire Historical Society*

A

- 29 John Thomson
 30 Hugh Tomson *
 his O mark
 31 James Still *
 32 James Hoog *
 33 Thomas Hanson
 34 John Hanson
 35 Ritchert Etone
 36 James Etone
 37 Thomas Etone
 38 Samuell Hanson
 39 James Cochran
 40 James Hulton
 41 Thomas Hultone
 42 John Cochrane
 43 Willam Cochrane
 his
 44 Samuel X Hunter
 mark
 45 John Hunter ¹

B

- 1 Thomas Hunter
 2 Daniel X McKerrel
 his
 mark
 3 ffergos Kenedey
 his
 4 John I Setone
 mark
 5 Adam X Dickey
 his
 mark
 6 Alexander Kid
 7 Thomas Lorie ²
 8 Thomas Hines
 his
 9 Will X Halkins
 mark
 10 Georg Anton
 11 John Colbreath
 12 William Baird
 13 John Gray
 14 John Hostowne
 15 Andrew Wattson
 16 William Bleair

B

- 17 Joseph Bleair
 18 Hugh X Blare
 his
 mark
 19 William Blare
 20 Samuel Actone
 21 James Knox
 22 Robert Hendry
 23 John Knox
 24 William Hendry
 25 William Dunkan
 26 David Duncan
 27 John Muree
 28 James Gillmor
 29 Samuel Gillmor ³
 30 Alexander Cochr^an
 31 Edward M Kene
 32 John Morduck
 33 Samuel X McMun
 his
 mark
 34 Molcam Calual
 35 Thomas McLaughlen *
 36 Robert Hoog *
 37 John Millar *
 38 Hugh Calwell
 39 William Boyd
 40 John Stirling
 41 Samuel Smith
 42 John Lamond
 43 Robert Lamond
 44 Robert Knox
 45 W^m Wilson
 46 W^m Paterson

C

- 1 Stephen Murdoch
 2 Robertt Murdoch
 3 John Murdoch
 4 William Jennson ⁴
 5 James Rodger
 6 John Buyers
 7 Robert Smith

¹ A 35-45 are perhaps in the same hand.

² Perhaps "Love."

³ B 28 and 29 are in the same hand.

⁴ Perhaps "Jamson."

C

- 8 Adam Dean
- 9 Rondall Alexander ¹
- 10 Thomas Boyd
- 11 Hugh Rogers
- 12 John Craig *
- 13 W^m Boyle
- 14 Benj Boyle ²
- 15 Ja. Kenedy
- 16 M'G.³ Stirling
- 17 Samuel Ross
- 18 John Ramsay
- 19 John McKeen
- 20 James Willsone
- 21 Robert McKeen
- 22 John Boyd
- 23 Andrew Dunlap
- 24 James Ramsay
- 25 William Park
- 26 John Blair
- 27 James Thompson
- 28 Lawrence McLaughlen
- 29 Will Campibell
- 30 James Bankhead
- 31 Andrew Patrick
- 32 James McFee
- 33 James Temen
- 34 Gorg Anton
- 35 James Anton
- 36 George Kairy
- 37 Thomas Freeland

D

- 1 Peter Simpson
- 2 Thomas M'Laughlen
- 3 Robert Boyd
- 4 Andrew Agnew
- 5 James King
- 6 Thomas Elder
- 7 Daniel Johnstone
- 8 Robert Walkr
- 9 David Jonston
- 10 James Steuart

D

- 11 John Murray
- 12 Thomas Blackwel
- 13 Thomas Wilson
- 14 John Ross
- 15 William Johnston
- 16 John King
- 17 Andrew Curry
- 18 John Jueeh [?]
- 19 James Brighym
- 20 Samuel Code
- 21 James Blak
- 22 Thomys Gro
- 23 Thomys Anton
- 24 James Gro
- 25 John Black
- 26 Thomas Boyd
- 27 Andrew McFaden ⁴
- 28 David Hanson
- 29 Richard Acton
- 30 James Blaire
- 31 Thomas Elder
- 32 Jeremiah Blaire
- 33 Jacob Black
- 34 Abram Baverly

E

- 1 Robert Johnston
- 2 Thomas Black
- 3 Peter Murray
- 4 John Jameson
- 5 John Cockran
- 6 Samuell Gonston
- 7 Thomas Shadey
- 8 William Ker
- 9 Thomas Moore
- 10 Andrew Watson
- 11 John Thonson
- 12 James McKerrall
- 13 Hugh Stockman
- 14 Andrew Cochren
- 15 James Barkley
- 16 Laurence Tod

¹ Later at Londonderry, New Hampshire.

² C 13 and 14 are in the same hand.

³ There is a blot here.

⁴ Of Garvagh, County Derry. Later at Merrymeeting Bay in Maine.

E

- 17 Sandrs Mear
 18 John Jackson
 19 James Curry
 20 James Elder
 21 James Acton
 22 Gorg Gregory
 23 Samuel Smith
 24 Andrew Dodg
 25 James Forsaith
 26 Andrew Fleeming
 27 Gorge Thomson
 28 James Brouster
 29 Thomas Kengston
 30 James Baverlay

F

- 1 James Smith *
 2 James Smith *¹
 3 Patrick Smith *
 4 Sameuel Beverelle
 5 James Craig
 6 Samuel Wilson, M. A.
 7 Gawen Jirwen
 8 Robert Miller
 9 Thomas Wilson
 10 William Wilson
 11 James Brice
 12 Ninian Pattison
 13 James Thompson
 14 Joⁿ Thompson
 15 Rob^t Thompson
 16 Adam Thompson ²
 17 Alexander Pattison
 18 Thomas Dunlop
 19 John Willson
 20 David Willson ³
 21 John Moor
 22 James M^cKeen ⁴

F

- 23 John Lamont
 24 John Smith *
 25 Patrick Orr
 26 Boniel Orr
 27 William Orr ⁵
 28 John Orr
 29 Jeams Lenox
 30 John Leslie
 31 John Lason
 32 John Calvil
 33 Samuel Wat
 34 Jeams Crafot
 35 Daued Henderson
 36 Matheu Slarroh ⁶
 37 Dauid Widborn
 38 Luk Wat
 39 Robert Hendre
 40 Wiliam Walas
 41 Thomas Walas
 42 Thomas Enoch
 43 Wiliam Boyd
 44 Wiliam Christy
 45 John Boyd
 46 William Boyd
 47 Hugh Or ⁷

G

- 1 Alex^r McBride, Phar.
 2 Sam: M^cGivern
 3 John Murdoch
 4 Geo Campbell
 5 James Shorswood
 6 John M^cLaughlen
 7 Georg M^cLaughlen
 8 Laurance M^cLaughlen ⁸
 9 John Hezlet *
 10 George M^cAlester *
 11 Thomas Ramadge *

¹ F 1 and 2 are in the same hand.

² F 13–16 are in the same hand.

³ F 19 and 20 are in the same hand.

⁴ Of Ballymoney, Antrim.

⁵ F 25–27 are in the same hand.

⁶ Later at Rutland, Massachusetts.

⁷ F 33–47 are probably in the same hand.

⁸ G 6–8 are in the same hand.

G

- 12 James Campbell *
 13 David Lindsay *
 14 Robt Giveen
 15 James Laidlay
 16 Benjamen Galt
 17 Daniell Todd
 18 Rob^t Barr
 19 Hugh Holmes *
 20 Rob^t King
 21 John Black *
 22 Thomas Ramsay *
 23 James Henry *
 24 ffrancis Richie *
 25 James Gregg ¹
 26 Robert Boyd
 27 Hugh Tarbet ²
 28 David Tarbet ³
 29 Joⁿ ^{his} X Robb
 mark
 30 Peatter Fulltone ⁴
 31 Rob^t Wear
 32 Alex^r Donnaldson *
 33 Arch^d Duglas *
 34 Rob^t Stiven *
 35 Rob^t Henry *
 36 James Gettey *
 37 Dav^d Bigger *
 38 David Pattison * ⁵
 39 Dav^d Mitchell ⁶
 40 John Wight
 41 Joseph Wight
 42 Robert Willson
 43 James Ball
 44 Andrew Coxe
 45 James Nesmith ⁷
 46 Peter Christy *

H

- 1 Ja^s Teatte, V. D. M.
 2 Tho^s Cobham, V. D. M.
 3 Robert Neilson, V. D. M.
 4 Will: Leech, V. D. M.
 5 Robert Higinbotham, V. D. M.
 6 John Porter, V. D. M.
 7 Hen: Neille, V. D. M.
 8 Thos. Elder, V. D. M.
 9 James Thomson, V. D. M.
 10 William Ker
 11 Will: McCullen
 12 Willeam Jeameson ?
 13 W^m Agnew
 14 Jeremiah Thompson
 15 Jahon Andrson
 16 George Grege
 17 Andrew Dean
 18 Alex^r Dunlop, M. A.
 19 Arch McCook, M. A.
 20 Alex^r Blair *
 21 Bemlonget [?] Cochran
 22 William Galt
 23 Peter Thompson *
 24 Richart McLaughlen
 25 John Mccan
 26 John Black
 27 John Thompson .
 28 Samuel Boyd
 29 John Mitchell
 30 James Paterson
 31 Joseph Curry *
 32 David Willson
 33 Patrick Anderson
 34 John Gray
 35 James Greg ⁸

¹ Of Macosquin, County Derry.

² Perhaps "Tarbel."

³ Perhaps "Tarbel." G 27 and 28 are in the same hand.

⁴ A ruling elder in Macosquin.

⁵ G 32-38 are in the same hand.

⁶ Perhaps "Mattbey" or "MacCoy."

⁷ Same signature as A 2.

⁸ Some of the names in the above list differ from those printed in my Scotch Irish Pioneers, pp. 325-330. A photograph of the petition was exhibited a year ago (see p. 145, above) but since then a new photograph has been taken, and

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NAMES¹

Acton, James E 21	Boyd, Samuel H 28
— Richard D 29	— Thomas C 10
Actone, Samuel B 20	— Thomas D 26
Agnew, Andrew D 4	— William B 39
— William H 13	— William F 43
Alexander, James A 1	— William F 46
— Randall C 9	Boyle, Benjamin C 14
Anderson, Patrick H 33	— William C 13
Andrson, Jahon H 15	Brice, James F 11
Anton, George B 10	Brighym, James D 19
— George C 34	Brouster, James E 28
— Thomas D 23	Buyers, John C 6
Baird, William B 12	Caldwall, William A 6
Ball, James G 43	Calual, Molcam B 34
Bankhead, James C 30	— William A 22
Barkley, James E 15	Calvil, John F 32
Barr, Robert G 18	Calwell, Hugh B 38
Baverlay, James E 30	Campbell, George G 4
Baverly, Abram D 34	— James G 12
Beverelle, Samuel F 4	Campibell, William C 29
Bevelam, Joseph A 27	Christy, Peter G 46
Bigger, David G 37	— William F 44
Black, Jacob D 33	Cobham, Thomas H 2
— John D 25	Cochran, Alexander B 30
— John G 21	— Bemlonget H 21
— John H 26	— James A 39
— Thomas E 2	Cochrane, John A 42
Blackwel, Thomas D 12	— William A 43
Blair, Alexander H 20	Cochren, Andrew E 14
— John C 26	Cockran, John E 5
Blaire, James D 30	Code, Samuel D 20
— Jeremiah D 32	Colbreath, John B 11
Blak, James D 21	Coxe, Andrew G 44
Blare, Hugh B 18	Crafort, James F 34
— William B 19	Crage, Robert A 28
Bleair, Joseph B 17	Craig, David A 3
— William B 16	— James F 5
Boyd, John C 22	— John C 12
— John F 45	Curry, Andrew D 17
— Robert D 3	— James E 19
— Robert G 26	— Joseph H 31

a study of the photographic plate has rendered clearer some names that were before obscure. Permission was kindly given to remove the MS from its frame when the new photograph was taken.

¹ In this list, surnames are printed as in the original petition; christian names are modernized.

- Dean, Adam C 8
— Andrew H 17
Dickey, Adam B 5
Dodg, Andrew E 24
Donnaldson, Alexander G 32
Duglas, Archibald G 33
Duncan, David B 26
Dunkan, William B 25
Dunlap, Andrew C 23
Dunlop, Alexander H 18
— Thomas F 18
Elder, James E 20
— Thomas D 6
— Thomas D 31
— Thomas H 8
Enoch, Thomas F 42
Etone, James A 36
— Richard A 35
— Thomas A 37
Fleeming, Andrew E 26
Forsaith, James E 25
Freeland, Thomas C 37
Fulltone, Peter G 30
Galt, Benjamin, G 16
— William H 22
Gettey, James G 36
Gillmor, James B 28
— Samuel B 29
Giveen, Robert G 14
Gonston, Samuel E 6
Gray, John B 13
— John H 34
Greg, James H 35
Grege, George H 16
Gregg, James G 25
Gregory, George E 22
Gro, James D 24
— Thomas D 22
Halkins, William B 9
Hanson, David D 28
— John A 34
— Samuel A 38
— Thomas A 33
Henderson, David F 35
Hendre, Robert F 39
Hendry, Robert B 22
— William B 24
Henry, James G 23
— Robert G 35
Hezlet, John G 9
Higinbotham, Robert H 5
Hines, Thomas B 8
Holmes, Hugh G 19
Hoog, James A 32
— Robert B 36
Hostowne, John B 14
Hulton, James A 40
Hultone, Thomas A 41
Hunter, John A 45
— Samuel A 44
— Thomas B 1
Jackson, John E 19
Jameson, John E 4
Jamson, William C 4*n*
Jameson, William H 12
Jennson, William C 4
Jirwen, Gawen F 7
Johnston, Robert E 1
— William D 15
Johnstone, Daniel D 7
Jonston, David D 9
Jueeh, John D 18
Kairy, George C 36
Kenedey, Fergus B 3
Kenedy, James C 15
Kengston, Thomas E 29
Ker, Robert A 14
— William E 8
— William H 10
Keid, Alexander B 6
King, James D 5
— John D 16
— Robert G 20
Knox, James B 21
— John B 23
— Robert A 10
— Robert B 44
Laidlay, James G 15
Lamond, John B 42
Lamont, John F 23
Lason, John F 31
Leech, William H 4
Lenox, James F 29
Leslie, John F 30
Lindsay, David G 13
Lorie, Thomas B 7
Love, Matthew A 9
— Thomas B 7*n*

McAlester, George G 10
McBride, Alexander G 1
McCan, John H 25
McClen, William H 11
McCook, Archibald H 19
MacCoy, David G 39n
McFaden, Andrew D 27
McFee, James C 32
McGivern, Samuel G 2
McGregore, Alexander A 11
McKeen, James F 22
— John C 19
— Robert C 21
McKene, Edward B 31
McKerrall, James E 12
McKerrel, Daniel B 2
McLaughlen, George G 7
— John G 6
— Laurence G 8
— Lawrence C 28
— Richard H 24
— Thomas B 35
— Thomas D 2
McMun, Samuel B 33
McNeall, Alexander A 13
— Neal A 4
Mattbey, David G 39n
Mear, Sanders E 17
Millar, John B 37
Miller, Robert A 16
— Robert F 8
Mitchell, David G 39
— John H 29
Moor, John F 21
Moore, James, Jr. A 7
— Thomas E 9
Morduck, John B 32
Morieson, James A 18
— James A 26
Murdoch, John C 3
— John G 3
— Robert C 2
— Stephen C 1
Murray, John D 11
— Peter E 3
Neill, Henry H 7
Neilson, Robert H 3
Nesmith, James A 2
— James G 45
Or, Hugh F 47
Orr, Boniel F 26
— John F 28
— Patrick F 25
— Thomas A 5
— William F 27
Park, William C 25
Paterson, James H 30
— William B 46
Patrick, Andrew C 31
Pattison, Alexander F 17
— David G 38
— Ninian F 12
Porter, John H 6
Ramadge, Thomas G 11
Ramsay, James C 24
— John C 18
— Thomas G 22
Richey, Alexander A 25
Richie, Francis G 24
Robb, John G 29
Rodgers, James C 5
Roe, Robert A 14n
Rogers, Hugh C 11
Ross, John D 14
— Samuel C 17
Seinior, William A 8n
Setone, John B 4
Shadey, Thomas E 7
Shorswood, James G 5
Simpson, Peter D 1
Slamon, William A 8
Slarroh, Matthew F 36
Smeally, John A 17
Smith, James F 1
— James F 2
— John F 24
— Patrick F 3
— Robert C 7
— Samuel B 41
— Samuel E 23
Steuart, James D 10
Still, James A 31
Stirling, John B 40
— M'G. C 16
Stiven, Robert G 34
Stockman, Hugh E 13
Tarbel, David G 28n
— Hugh G 27n

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Tarbet, David G 28 | Walker, Robert A 21 |
| — Hugh G 27 | — William A 23 |
| Teatte, James H 1 | Walkr, Robert D 8 |
| Temen, James C 33 | Wat, Luke F 38 |
| Thompson, Adam F 16 | — Samuel F 33 |
| — James C 27 | Watson, Andrew E 10 |
| — James F 13 | — Joseph A 15 |
| — Jeremiah H 14 | Wattson, Andrew B 15 |
| — John F 14 | Wear, Robert G 31 |
| — John H 27 | Widborn, David F 37 |
| — Peter H 23 | Wight, John G 40 |
| — Robert F 15 | — Joseph G 41 |
| Thomson, George E 27 | Willson, David F 20 |
| — James H 9 | — David H 32 |
| — John A 29 | — John F 19 |
| Thonson, John E 11 | — Robert G 42 |
| Tod, Laurence E 16 | Willsone, James C 20 |
| Todd, Daniel G 17 | Wilson, Samuel F 6 |
| Tomson, Hugh A 30 | — Thomas D 13 |
| Trotter, Alexander A 12 | — Thomas F 9 |
| Walas, Thomas F 41 | — William B 45 |
| — William F 40 | — William F 10 |
| Walker, James A 19 | Young, Samuel A 24 |
| — Robert A 20 | |

On behalf of Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE, Mr. Henry H. Edes made the following communication:

Occasional mention, in manuscript and in print, is found of early libraries in New England. The most important and serviceable of these were in the hands of the ministers, some of whom had brought their books with them when they settled on our shores. These early collections consisted in good part of the works of the Fathers and the Schoolmen; and the character of the books is shown by the catalogue of Increase Mather's library made by him in 1664.¹ Book lists from foreign book shops probably came often into the hands of these collectors and opened a way of constantly adding to their treasures.

It would be interesting to know to what extent books were lent from the libraries in colonial and provincial days. If the signatures, found in many old books, were written for the purpose of identifying their owners, some light would be thrown upon such a circulation. A

¹ Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series, xx. 280-290.

book in the Boston Public Library, which once belonged to the library of Cotton Mather, has written, in his own hand, on a fly-leaf at the beginning, "To be returned to Co. Mather." An instance of a large number borrowed is a list of ninety books "borrowed of John Johnson and William Parks, of Roxbury the 10th day of the 11th Mon. 1647. By me Richard Mather."¹ Other entries recording the lending of books are found at the end of the 1664 catalogue of Increase Mather mentioned above.²

To the list of early libraries given in another place,³ the following are added:

The inventory of William Tyng has the entry, "Books as per schedule valued at 010 00 00," and gives a list of the titles of nearly one hundred books.⁴

The Rev. John Norton left a library consisting of 159 "books in folio," and 570 in "4°: 8° : 12°," valued at £300.⁵

Elnathan Chauncy's inventory, August 5, 1684, included "a pcel of Books as apprized by Doctor Graves M^r Cotton Mather & M^r Parris 44: 03: 0."⁶

Among the gifts to Harvard College, perhaps as early as 1642, it appears that "ffor the furnishing of the Colledge with a Library that might be of publick use to the Students therein, the Hon^d Magistrates & Rev^d Elders gave towards the same out of their own libraryes to the vallue of Two hundred pound."⁷ Who these men were is not recorded; but the copy of the manuscript given below tells us of a magistrate who probably was not included among the above-mentioned donors to the College. It relates to Colonel John Humphreys who rendered conspicuous service to the Colony for a few short years from 1634 to 1641. His library probably came with him in 1634; but a list of the books has not yet come to light.

His dwelling-place is shown on the so-called Winthrop map of

¹ 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 76, 77.

² Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series, xx. 290.

³ xx. 270 *et seq.*

⁴ Suffolk Probate, ii. 146; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxx. 432.

⁵ Suffolk Probate, iv. 137; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xi. 344.

⁶ Suffolk Probate, ix. 175.

⁷ College Book, iii. 4. Cf. Quincy, History of Harvard University, i. 512.

New England by the entry in Governor Winthrop's hand of "B M^r Humfryes ferme house at Sagus."¹ Saugus became Lynn in 1637; and the house stood near the shore easterly of the little settlement and on the north side of the bay with a view of Nahant to the southward. Colonel Humphreys² was chosen Deputy-Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on October 20, 1629. He arrived here in July, 1634; received his farm by grant of the General Court on May 6, 1635; and took the oath of freeman on May 25, 1636. Governor Winthrop speaks of him as "a gentleman of special parts of learning and activity, and a godly man, who had been one of the first beginners in the promoting of this plantation, and had laboured very much therein."³ The date of his last attendance at the General Court was October 7, 1641, and of his sailing for England October 26 of the same year.

Whereas some of the Magistrates have received letters from Collonell Humfreyes wherby wee vnderstand that his liberary [of a very considerable valew] is disposed of Contrary to his minde, without any Comission; & not on his behalfe in respect of any debt of his; [as hee conceiveth;] His earnest request beeing to receive his liberary by the next convenient passage; which liberary [as his letters informe] fell into the hand of Benjamin Gilham; The Magistrates [considering how much hee hath] & may bee instrumentall to the publique good of this Goverment; [assuring ourselves that hee will bee very sensible of our respect to him *in this particular*; doe desire that according to his request hee *may* have his liberary; by the justice of this Court; [if his case *appeare* to bee as hee affirmeth;] or by the favour of this Court *and* country [if the case vpon examination prove otherwise then is enformed]: which favour [wee beleive] will not bee vnrequited by him; of whose fidelity & activity wee have had soe much *experience*.

Having received a letter from Collonell Humfreyes concerning the returne of his library; & the disposall thereof as aforesayde; & not having his letter here present; I doe affirme that I received such a letter containing such information [as aforesayde].

RICHARD SALTONSTALL⁴

¹ 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 212.

² xiii. 36-43, for a sketch of his life.

³ xiii. 38.

⁴ Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 10. The brackets appear in the original MS, and a few letters torn off are printed in italics.

The Magistrates desire that o^r brethren the deputies will consent
heerevnto

Jo: ENDECOTT Gou^r.

[Endorsed]

Vote about Coll. Humphreys's Library.

In connection with this brief paper on the early libraries, the following list will show the kind of books sold here in early provincial times.

¹⁷⁰⁴
June 8th

Invoice of a Parcell of Books sent p Mr Anthony Young
on acc^t of Mad^m Rebecca Overton of London and to be
by him disposed of for her Most advantage, viz.

Folios	Pæreus on the Revellation Barnes Coment on the Ephesians Lexicon English Greek & Latin
Quartos	An answer to Tombes ^s book Dike on Repentance Mayor on the Cattachism Prin against plays &c. Wells ^s Practicall Sabitarian Cottons. Powering out the Spiritt Collection of Acts of Parliam ^t Peirson on ye S ^{ts} Portion Exposition of Genesis &c. Brightman on the Revellation The tryers tryed Cluster of Grapes. Lattin Exposition on the Psalms Page on the Lords prayer Reply of 2 brethren Stallham ag ^t Quakers Burroughs ^s Irenicum Cottons Way of Life Cotton on y ^e 13 th of Revell ⁿ Goodwin's Works Belgick Comon Wealth Carrell on Job. viz on 3. first Chapt ^r s on 8.9.& 10 th Capt ^r s

- on 11.12.13.14. Chapt's
- on 15.16.17. Chapt's
- on 22.23.24.25.26. Chapt's
- on 8.9.10. chapt's
- on 11.12.13.14 Chapt's
- on 15.16.17 Chapt's
- on 23.24.25.26. Chapt's
- Burroughs on Hosea
- Justification Justify'd
- The Souls Preparation for Christ
- 12° Blunts Dictionary
- Luthers 34. Sermons
- Dykes Righteous mans Tower
- Christs 1000. yeares Reigne
- Greek & Latin Lexicon
- Gales Antomy of Infidellity
- Gouges Principles of Religion
- Simeon^s Song
- Hesiod
- Cotton on Solomons Song
- Vincent^s Cause & Cure of the Pestilence
- 16° Byfeilds Principles of Religion
- the Psalms in Greek Lattin & hebrew
- Culverwell of faith
- Religion of y^e Papists
- Hewitt^s anatomy of Concience
- Howards Strong Helper
- The Works of y^e Divill
- Doctr Heylins History Examined
- A new testament.
- 56 books in all

EDW^D MARTYN¹

[Endorsed]

Martyn & Young
July 1706

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited a copy of Cyprian Southack's map of the coast of New England, etc., which had belonged to Admiral Howe and bore manuscript memoranda

¹ Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 247.

in Lord Howe's handwriting.¹ On this map the prime meridian is fixed at Boston.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

LETTERS OF DENNYS DE BERDT, 1757-1770

The Library of Congress recently acquired, through the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Gherardi Davis of New York, the Letter Book of Dennys De Berdt, 1765-1770. Our associate Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, kindly allowed this to be copied; and Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin — a Corresponding Member of the Society and Chief Assistant Librarian of the Library of Congress — offered it for publication in our Transactions. On his behalf I take pleasure in communicating it to-day. In the course of preparing the Letter Book for the press, I found that there were in the Massachusetts Archives, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the Dartmouth College Library, in the library of the Earl of Dartmouth, and elsewhere, several letters and documents not contained in the Letter Book itself. These have been copied, and they are printed after the Letter Book under the heading "Additional Letters, 1757-1770."

The Letter Book is an ordinary, small quarto blank book, higher than it is wide, and contains 134 pages. It was found a year ago by Mr. Davis among some old papers in the garret of the house at Great Neck, New York, of his father-in-law Mr. John A. King, a grandson of Rufus King. Mr. Davis does not know how the book came into the possession of Mr. King. One cover was torn off, the letters were all copies, and they were for the most part without signatures. Hence Mr. Davis was at a loss to know by whom the

¹ This map was bought by Mr. Farwell from a London firm in 1904. The map was originally published in 1720, but Mr. Farwell's copy is of an impression not earlier than 1733. Its title reads as follows:

An actual Survey of the Sea Coast from New York to the I Cape Breton, with Tables of the direct and thwart Courses & Distances from Place to Place, by Capt. Cyprian Southack. Illustrated, with Particular Plans, of the Harbours of New York, Boston, Canso Bay & Annapolis Royal, on a larger Scale. As also, A New Chart of the Atlantic Ocean. Printed and Sold by W^m Herbert under the Piazzas on London Bridge & Robert Sayer facing Fetter Lane, Fleet Street.

letters were written, but on showing the volume last spring to Mr. Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, the writer was identified as Dennys De Berdt.

The figure of De Berdt, agent in London of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from November, 1765, to his death in April, 1770, has, both in his private and in his public capacity, hitherto been a shadowy one. In a letter written from Philadelphia in 1773 by De Berdt's widow to her son Dennis, she says:

I will give my dear Dennis the best account I can of his dear father's family.

The original of them came from Ipres (or Ypres) in Flanders. They left that country for the sake of religion, where they were persecuted by Duke Alva. They left behind them a good estate; and brought with them only some money and jewels, which was by stealth. I have often heard your dear father mention the circumstances. . . . The first place they settled was in Colchester. . . . Your grandfather was apprentice to a merchant, one Mr. De Berdt, a cousin, but he left out the De, and signed his name Berdt; some of the family signed their names Bert, which has made great confusion in the families, though they were all of the same family. Your grandfather always kept to the original name De Berdt: . . . I forgot to tell you your grandfather's name was John;¹

¹ On December 23, 1712, Nicho. Zinzen married "Edward Stables of Lincoln's Inn and Susanna De Berdt of Wandsworth in Surrey" (Publications of the Harleian Society, Registers, xxxii. 53).

On April 29, 1729, took place the marriage of "John de Berdt of St Andrew, Holborn, Midx., B., and Jane Greer of St Gyles in the fields, Midx., S." (Publications of the Harleian Society, Registers, xxxix. 363).

The Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1731, records the death of "*John de Berdt, of Battersea, Esq; Grandson to the late Sir John Fleet, and Son-in-Law to Edward Staples, Esq; Clerk to the H. of Commons*" (i. 354). The will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Isham, 207) of John De Berdt of Battersea, County Surrey, dated August 5 and proved August 19, 1731, contains these items: "I bequeath all my freehold lands & tenements & all my copyhold & leasehold estates in Battersea, Wimbledon & Wandsworth, co. Surrey, to my wife Jane De Berdt & her heirs for ever. To my sister in law, M^{rs} Amy Greere, £20. A gold ring to each of my wife's brothers & sisters. Residuary legatee & executrix, my said wife."

The Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1731, notes the death on the 12th of "*Edward Stables, Esq; Clerk of the House of Commons, at Wandsworth*" (i. 540). Unless there was a double marriage between the Stables and the De Berdt families, it would seem as if this John De Berdt must have been the brother-in-law, not the son-in-law, of Edward Stables.

if you look into the Dutch Bible you will find his name there. Some of their names are engraven in the Dutch church,¹ — if you were to inquire there, perhaps you might get some information in their church books. . . . I wish you success if it is good for you to have the estate; if not, I do not.²

Dennys De Berdt was born in or about 1694. "The fragments of his private correspondence in my possession," writes his great-grandson William B. Reed, "show him to have been a man of a very devotional turn of mind, singularly so, at a time of very loose religious opinions and practice. He was a Dissenter."³

The following extracts from the Massachusetts House Journals give the story of De Berdt's appointment as agent. Under date of November 5, 1765, we read:

Choice of a special Agent. The House according to the Order of the Day, entred into the Consideration of the Choice of a special Agent, and *Resolved* unanimously, That this House only proceed to the Choice of such an Agent.

Committee to sort & count the Votes. *Ordered*, That Mr. Foster of Plymouth, Judge Russell, and Mr. Otis, be a Committee to sort and count the Votes for a special Agent. Who performing that Service, Reported that *Dennis De Berdt*, Esq; was chosen.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker, Mr. Otis, Mr. Adams, Mr. Dexter, and Col. Brown be a Committee to prepare Instructions for the said Agent and, Report (p. 167).

On the next day, November 6th, it was —

Committee to acquaint Mr. De Berdt of the Choice the House have made of him. *Ordered*, That Col. Clap, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Dexter, be a Committee to draw up a proper Vote to acquaint Mr. De Berdt, of the Choice the House have made of him to be a special Agent, &c. and Report (p. 175).

And on November 7th we read:

Dennis De Berdt Esq; chosen special Agent. The House being informed of the Integrity and Ability of *Dennis De Berdt*, Esq; made choice of him to be

¹ In Austin Friars, London.

² William B. Reed, Life of Esther De Berdt, afterwards Esther Reed, pp. 188-191. This book was privately printed in 1853.

³ William B. Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, i. 37 note. This work was published in 1847.

special Agent for this House to sollicit and pursue the several Petitions which the late General Congress of the *British Colonies* at *New-York* agreed on to be presented to His Majesty, and each House of Parliament (p. 176).

The fact of De Berdt's selection for the agency proves that he must have been well informed on, and deeply interested in, American affairs; but, singularly enough, I have been able to find scarcely an allusion to him on this side of the water previous to his appointment as agent. Writing to De Berdt on December 20, 1765, a committee of the House said:

The House was so fully informed of your Ability and Inclination to serve the Province, that your Election was soon determined by a very great Majority. We hope you will have receiv'd the advice of your Appointment before this comes to Hand, and we may assure you that your Acceptance of the Trust, will give general Satisfaction to the good People here.¹

And in his first letter to De Berdt, dated January 6, 1767, Samuel Dexter said:

As I am one who have for many years tho't you a sincere friend of the American Colonies, and to this in particular, wished for your being chosen Agent before it took Place, and when your choice was under consideration of the House of Representatives, exerted myself to promote it, in preference to all other Candidates, so I have ever since desired to enjoy a correspondence with you on Public Matters. With this disposition and these sentiments, I shall make no apology for troubling you at this time.²

There is, however, a document which shows that De Berdt's attention had been directed to the American colonies at least as early as 1758. On May 8 of that year the Rev. Samuel Davies, afterwards President of the College of New Jersey, preached in Virginia

¹ Writings of Samuel Adams, i. 62.

² Massachusetts Papers, pp. 22-23. This volume, otherwise called Papers relating to Public Events in Massachusetts preceding the American Revolution, was printed for the Seventy-Six Society at Philadelphia in 1856. The documents printed in it originally belonged to the late Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn, but were by him given to the Massachusetts Historical Society on January 10, 1878. See p. 454 note 2, below.

a sermon called *The Curse of Cowardice*. The manuscript of this sermon was sent by Davies to De Berdt, who procured its publication in London the same year and wrote for it a dedication. As this has not, so far as I am aware, been alluded to in any previous account of De Berdt, I give it here in full. It is addressed "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax, First Lord Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, And one of the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, &c. &c.," and reads as follows:

MY LORD,

AS the following Pages contain the *Genuine Sentiments of a Heart* full of Zeal for the Honour of His Majesty *King GEORGE*, and a just *Indignation* against a base, cowardly Neglect, to defend the Civil and Religious Liberties of *British America*, they cannot be unacceptable to Your Lordship.

This Discourse having a direct Tendency to raise a *Noble Spirit* among the Inhabitants of the *Western World*, whose Territories have been first insidiously curtailed, and then openly *attacked* by the perfidious, and restless Disturber of the Peace both of *Europe* and *America*, the Circulating thereof must necessarily be a Matter of no small Importance.

Here Courage is set upon its *proper Basis*, which will produce more solid, steady, and persevering Vigour, than any Methods that are or can be taken, merely to *inflame* the *Passions*, for that is only to intoxicate Men with Rage, and temporary Phrensy.

The Author's Friendship sent the Manuscript cross the Atlantick to my Hands; and having read it, I thought it would be criminal to conceal such *generous Principles*, and *powerful Motives* to His Majesty's Service, from the Publick, either in *England* or *America*.

And should You, my Lord, think fit to introduce this *American Composition* to His Majesty's View, must it not give Him a real Satisfaction, to see the grateful Apprehension the Inhabitants of that Country have of His *paternal Care*, and that there is among them a Spirit of *undissembled Loyalty* to His Person, and most *ardent Zeal* in His Service, not altogether unworthy of His Royal Regard?

Your Lordship's just sense of the Utility and Importance of the *British Colonies* in *America*, and constant *Watchfulness* over them, as myself and all others that have Connections there know; have gain'd You, SIR, the universal Esteem of the Inhabitants of that extensive and now populous Continent.

Permit me then with the most *profound Respect* to dedicate to your

Lordship, what I apprehend is so well calculated to promote His Majesty's Service, and the vigorous Defence of His Dominions in general: And if spreading these Sentiments in the Country which gave them Birth, should have that happy Effect, I shall esteem it an *additional Honour* to that of being permitted to subscribe myself,

Your LORDSHIP'S

*Most devoted,
and Obedient*

Humble Servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

But the first allusions I find to De Berdt are in connection with the early history of Dartmouth College. This institution, it will be remembered, was, before the adoption of its present name and its removal in 1770 to Hanover, New Hampshire, established at Lebanon, Connecticut, and was known as the Indian Charity School, under the charge of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock. In one of the numerous pamphlets relating to the school is the following:

Those who are disposed to join in promoting a Design so truly humane and pious, are desired to leave their DONATIONS with the following Persons, to be by them placed under Improvement till drawn for by the Reverend Mr *Wheelock*. . . . DENNIS DE BERDT, Esq; Merchant, in *Artillery-Court, Chiswell-street*.²

From the letters now printed it appears that Wheelock was introduced to De Berdt through the Rev. George Whitefield, and that De Berdt took an active and important part in the unsuccessful endeavor to obtain a charter in England for Wheelock's school.

As time went on, some dissatisfaction was expressed with De Berdt in the matter of the Massachusetts agency, but the precise reasons are obscure. In a letter to some unknown person dated Charlestown, February 7, 1769, Richard Cary wrote:

M^r Cushing tells me he has wrote perticularly to M^r De Berdt, w^{ch} lately went, I refer you to it, he, & M^r Otis, Adams &c^t dined with me a

¹ The Curse of Cowardice: A Sermon preached To the Militia of Hanover County, in Virginia, at A General Muster, May 8, 1758. With a View to raise a Company for Captain Samuel Meredith. . . . London: . . . MDCCLVIII.

² Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity-School, In Lebanon in Connecticut, in New-England, London, MDCCLXVI, p. 13.

few days ago, the Affairs of the Agency shall engage my Attention. I hear their are Schemes & plans, going forward I hope none will succeed, against our Aged Worthy Friend, whose Labours seems to be more Abundant at this important Crisis, I rejoice to hear his Health is continued.¹

In spite of opposition, De Berdt retained his position until his death. Curiously enough, the exact date of his death has never hitherto been given with accuracy. On Tuesday, April 10, 1770, the Rev. John Stafford, minister of the Independent Church in Broad Street, London, wrote to Jeremy Belknap: "M^r Dennis De Bert, my near neighbour, died last Tuesday morning. But I don't imagine the agency of the Colonies w^{ch} was in his hands can come into worse, as he was a man of no influence, being poor, & I suppose will prove insolvent."² The report, however, was premature, as De Berdt was living at the time this letter was written. Elsewhere De Berdt is stated to have died April 18,³ or even as late as May.⁴ From the last letter in the Letter Book, written by Dennis De Berdt the younger,⁵ we learn that De Berdt died on Wednesday, April 11. In

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society. The letter is printed in full, though not with verbal accuracy, in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 113-115. The following passage is from the Massachusetts House Journals of July 13, 1769:

Upon a Motion made, *Ordered*, That Mr. Hancock, Mr. Gardner of Cambridge, and Mr. Turner, be a Committee to count and sort the Votes of this House for an Agent of the Province. . . .

The House according to Order, proceeded to bring in their Votes for an Agent, and upon sorting and counting the Votes, it appeared that DENNYS DE BERDT, Esq; of London, was chosen, by a great Majority (p. 72).

See also House Journals, July 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 1769 (pp. 49, 52, 53, 56, 64, 67); 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 149-150, 160.

² Belknap Papers, iii. 41. The reasons for De Berdt's financial difficulties are given by Joseph Reed in a letter dated May 7, 1770 (*Life of Esther De Berdt*, pp. 146-148). In his *Life of James Otis* (1883), Tudor is severe on De Berdt: see pp. 283 note, 292, 309, 311, 323-325, 329-330. On the other hand, as the extracts quoted in the text show, De Berdt was uniformly spoken of with respect and even affection by his contemporaries on this side of the water. In a letter to Sayre dated November 23, 1770, Samuel Adams alluded to "our worthy Friend M^r De Berdt" (*Writings*, ii. 66).

³ London magazines; *Life of Esther De Berdt*, p. 144 note.

⁴ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vi. 53.

⁵ The elder De Berdt always spelled his christian name Dennys, while the younger De Berdt always spelled his christian name Dennis.

a London newspaper was printed this notice: "Thursday, April 19. LONDON. Yesterday s'ennight died, at his house in Chiswell-street, Dennis De Berdt, Esq; Agent for New-York and Massachusetts Bay."¹ The news found its way into the Boston newspapers early in June, as appears from the following notices:

In the latest English Prints received by Captain Duckett, among the Deaths of a number of Persons is mentioned *Dennis De Berdt, Esq;* Agent for the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, and Lower Counties of Delaware in Pennsylvania: A Gentleman who had always proved himself a faithful and sincere Friend to the Interest of America, his Death at this Time must therefore be a great Loss to the Colonies.²

Extract of a Letter from London, dated April 13.

"On Wednesday last died our worthy and respectable Friend Mr. DE BERDT, after a short Illness, which arose rather from a universal Decay, than from any other Cause. — He was too great a Character for me to describe. He possessed every good Quality which makes human Nature great and amiable." Mr. Dennis Deberdt was in the 77th Year of his Age. — He had been Agent for the House of Representatives of this Province several Years past.³

The statement found (as above) in the English magazines and newspapers that De Berdt was agent for New York is apparently a mistake, though he had been agent for Delaware — or, as it was then called, the three Lower Counties (New Castle, Kent, and Sussex) on Delaware. Writing to her future husband on September 12, 1766, De Berdt's daughter said:

I suppose you must have heard of the honor the Lower Counties of Delaware have done my father, of a piece of plate. He has the satisfaction of having deserved it. They have made him their agent to deliver an address of thanks to his Majesty. I am afraid, if it is continued, it is very inconsiderable, and would be an Agency hardly worthy of you. Pray, had they ever an agent before? ⁴

¹ London Chronicle, April 17-19, 1770, xxvii. 374.

² Boston Evening Post, June 4, 1770, p. 4/2.

³ Boston News-Letter, June 7, 1770, p. 2/2. De Berdt's death is also mentioned, but without characterization, in the Boston Gazette, June 4, p. 1/2; Boston Post Boy, June 4, p. 4/2; Boston Chronicle, May 31-June 4, iii. 179/2.

⁴ Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 99.

This piece of silver plate was in 1853 in the possession of Mr. D. De Berdt Hovell of Lower Clapton, Middlesex, England, and bore the following inscription:¹

To
DENNIS DE BERDT, ESQUIRE,
In grateful memory of his faithful services exerted successfully
in obtaining the repeal of the American Stamp Act,
This Plate is presented, by the Honble. House of Assembly,
of the Lower Counties on Delaware.
A.D. 1766.

In Massachusetts, De Berdt appears to have fared somewhat differently. On June 13, 1766, the House —

Committee to prepare a Letter of Thanks to Dennis De Berdt, Esq. Ordered, That Mr. Otis, Col. Brown, and Mr. Hancock, be a Committee to prepare a Letter of Thanks to Dennis De Berdt, Esq; for his Assiduity and Faithfulness in endeavouring to obtain a Repeal of the Stamp-Act.²

And under date of February 1, 1768, we read:

Report of the Committee on the Services of D. De Berdt, Esq The Committee appointed to consider the Services of Dennis De Berdt, Esq; report, That he was chosen special Agent by the House of Representatives Nov. 4, 1765, and has been improved in the Service of this Province ever since: That he was assiduous in his endeavour to obtain a Repeal of the Stamp-Act: And that during the whole Time in which he has been in the Service of the Province, he acted with great Diligence and Fidelity, and has discovered a real Concern for the Interest of America, and of this Province in particular. Read and accepted. . . .

The House taking into Consideration the Services of Dennis De Berdt, Esq; Agent for this Province, at the Court of Great Britain.

Grant to D. De Berdt, Esq; Resolved, That there be allowed and paid out of the public Treasury to Dennis De Berdt, Esq; the Sum of six Hundred Pounds Sterling, in full for the Services he performed for this Province at the Court of Great-

¹ Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 18.

² House Journals, p. 81.

Britain, from Nov. 1765, to Nov. 1767; and that the Treasurer be and hereby is directed to purchase a Bill per Exchange, and remit the same to *Dennys De Berdt*, Esq; accordingly.

Sent up for Concurrence.¹

But in spite of the various grants made by the Legislature, De Berdt seems seldom to have obtained the money, and it was not until 1774 that a settlement was made in full with his son Dennis.² It is true that his portrait now hangs in the Council Chamber of the State House at Boston; but it was placed there not, as William B. Reed stated in 1853, "in commemoration of the gratitude of Massachusetts," but as the gift of De Berdt's intimate friend and ardent admirer, Richard Cary. Mr. Cary's letter of presentation is as follows:

¹ House Journals, p. 143.

² For references to grants, and other allusions, to De Berdt, see Massachusetts House Journals, 1765, November 5, 6, 7, pp. 167, 173, 175, 176; 1766, February 12, 19, 20, pp. 268, 291, 297; 1766, May 29, June 13, 19, 20, 28, November 7, 12, December 3, 4, 6, 9, pp. 9, 81, 104, 106, 138, 180, 190, 191, 205, 206, 213, 219; 1767, February 7, March 3, 16, 17, 19, pp. 259, 350, 393-404, 409, 412; 1767, May 29, June 9, 11, 17, December 30, pp. 10, 33, 34, 40, 60-61, 88; 1768, January 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 26, February 1, 12, 20, pp. 102, 104, 107, 108, 109, 116, 135, 142, 143, 161, 183, 184, App. pp. 22, 25-34; 1768, June 18, 30, pp. 64, 96, App. p. 4; 1769, June 1, July 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, pp. 10, 49, 52, 53, 56, 64, 67, 72, 73, 83; 1770, March 16, 29, April 9, 21, 26, pp. 92, 114, 141, 176, 189, 191, 192.

For grants to De Berdt or his heirs, see Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 467, 504, 566-567, 568-569, 570, 572-579, 589, 590, 592, 597, 636, 637, 638, 639-640; l. 320.

The account rendered by Dennis De Berdt on February 1, 1771 (xxii. 572-579), contains many interesting items throwing light on the duties and expenses of an agent, such as: "Coach hire £30.0.0;" "a Pair of Horses £105.0.0;" "To a Servants Wages Livery & Board £25.0.0;" "To the Annual Excise Tax on the Coach Wheels £4.0.0;" "Tavern & Coffee House Expences;" "To a General Retaining fee to the Clerk of the house of Commons to be immediately informed when any Affairs of Importance came before the House respecting America £10.0.0;" "To republishing 500 Appeals to the World £7.4.0;" "Publishing 500 Extracts of a Letter & Remarks £3.8.6;" "To Serjt Glynn's General retaining ffee £2.2.6;" "To Printing 500 Junius Americanus £16.10.6."

This account caught the eye of Governor Gage, and some of the items were transmitted in his letter of June 26, 1774, "because they appeared to him *extraordinary*" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 717). The third pamphlet was Arthur Lee's "The Political Detection; or, the Treachery and Tyranny of Administration, both at Home and Abroad; displayed in a Series of Letters, signed Junius Americanus. London: . . . M DCC LXX."

BOSTON June 3^d 1780

SIR

With most Respectfull Regards, to the Honourable Board, I Begg their Acceptance of the Picture of the late Dennis De Berdt Esquire, who was a Sincere Friend, as well as an able Advocate, for the Cevill and Religious Libertys of this Country.

The many Eminent Services he did, for this State, at the Court of Great Brittain, when he had the Honour of appearing there, as an Agent, to the Honourable House of Representatives, is well known, and often Acknowledged, with perticular Regards, in their Letters to him.

I have the Pleasure of informing you, he has left an only Son, whose Riseing Usefullness in Life, does Honour to the Memory of such a Parent, And by his Attachments to its Interest, Endears himself, to the Friends of America.

From the highest Esteem to the Memory of my deceasd Friend, I Humbly desire, the Honourable Councell, would direct his Picture, to be placed, among the other worthy Personages, that are such Ornaments to their Chamber,

& am,

Sir

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

RICHARD CARY¹

The Honourable

James Bowdoin Esquire

President

In the Council Records, under date of June 7, 1780, will be found the following:

Order respects
picture of Dennis
de Bert Esqr

On Letter from Richard Cary Esq^{re} presenting to this Board an Elegant Picture of Dennis D'Bert Esq^r formerly Agent to the Honble House of Representatives at the Court of Great Britain — Ordered that the thanks of this Board be given to Richard Cary Esq^r for his present of an elegant picture of the late Dennis D'Bert esq^r formerly Agent to the Honble House of Repre-

¹ Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 170. The letter is addressed "To The Honourable James Bowdoin Esquire President of y^e Councell Boston;" and is endorsed, "Letter from Rich^d Cary Esq^r Presenting a Picture of Dennis De Berdt Esq^r & Vote of Council. June 7th 1780." The "Vote of Council" is of course merely a copy of that given in the text, and is signed "Attest John Avery D Sec."

sentatives at the Court of Great Britain whose good services during his Agency & whose firm attachment to the Civil & Religious Liberties of the Country will ever endear his memory to the Friends of America — & that the said picture be placed in the Council Chamber.¹

With the kind permission of Governor Draper, this portrait has been photographed and is here reproduced. Who painted the picture, or how it came into the possession of Cary,² is unknown; but

¹ Council Records, xxv. 175. See also Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, i. 38 note.

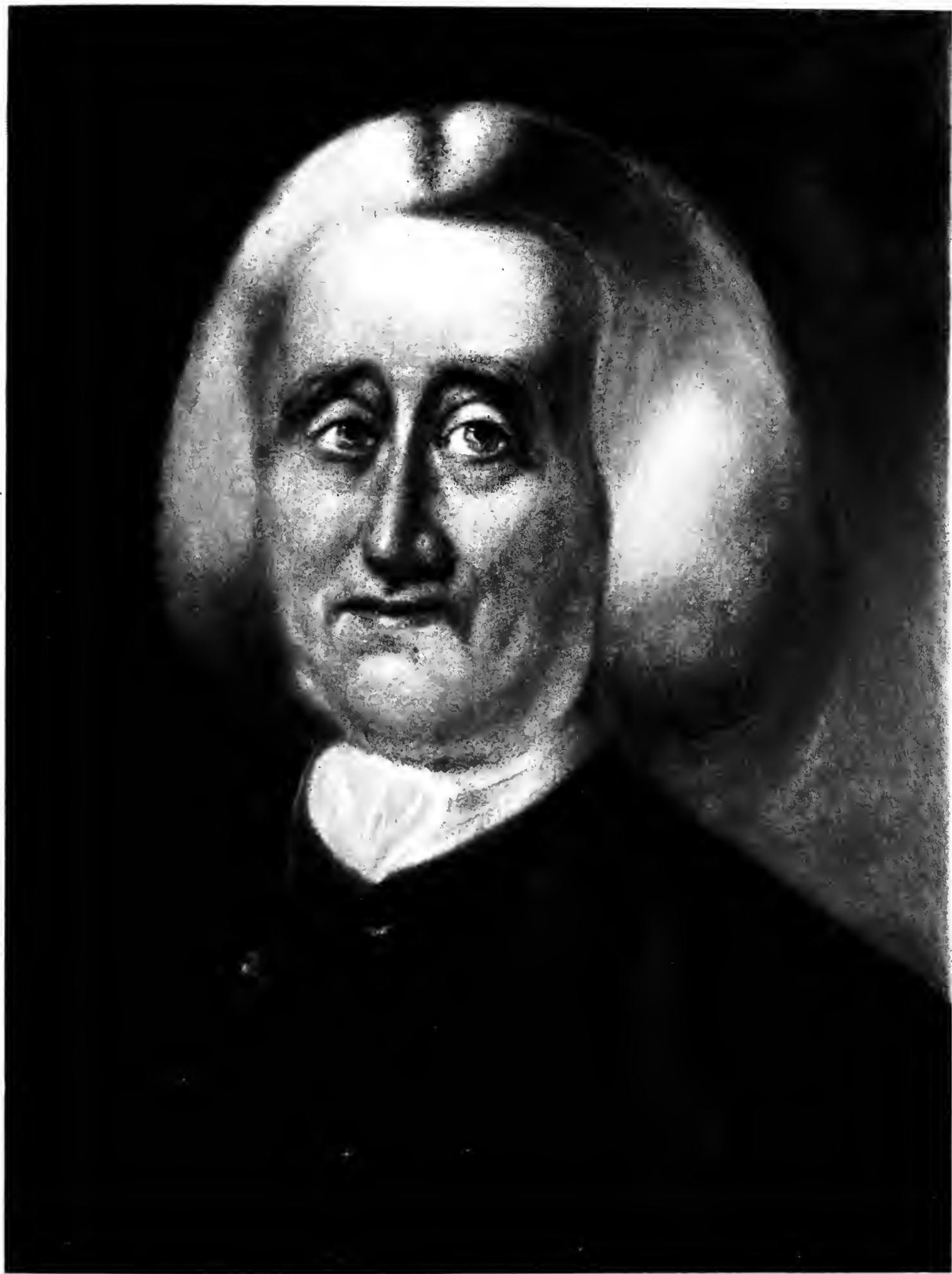
² Richard Cary was an intimate friend of the De Berdts. On November 2, 1774, Mrs. Joseph Reed wrote from Philadelphia to her brother Dennis De Berdt:

The Congress brought some private pleasure as well as public advantage. It gave us the opportunity of seeing some of our old correspondents, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Adams, etc., with whom we spent some cheerful hours, but especially our very worthy friend Mr. Cary, who has just left us, after spending near a month with us, and giving us much pleasure with his company. He is a most cheerful, worthy old gentleman, and from his former friendship with our dear father, and regard for us and you, I never entertained any person more affectionately or with greater pleasure. We were all low-spirited when he went away. . . . He gave us a kind invitation to his house, which we intend to accept about this time next year, if no accident prevents, and if things take a favorable turn, I think you must come and go with us (Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 204).

Richard Cary died on February 7, 1790. Of the two following notices, the first is taken from the Massachusetts Centinel of Wednesday, February 10, 1790 (p. 3/1), and the second from the same paper of February 17 (p. 3/1):

DIED] — Suddenly, at Charlestown, Sunday morning, RICHARD CARY, Esq. aged 73, greatly esteemed and lamented. His funeral will be from his late Dwelling House, this afternoon at half past 3 o'clock which his relations and friends are requested to attend from this invitation.

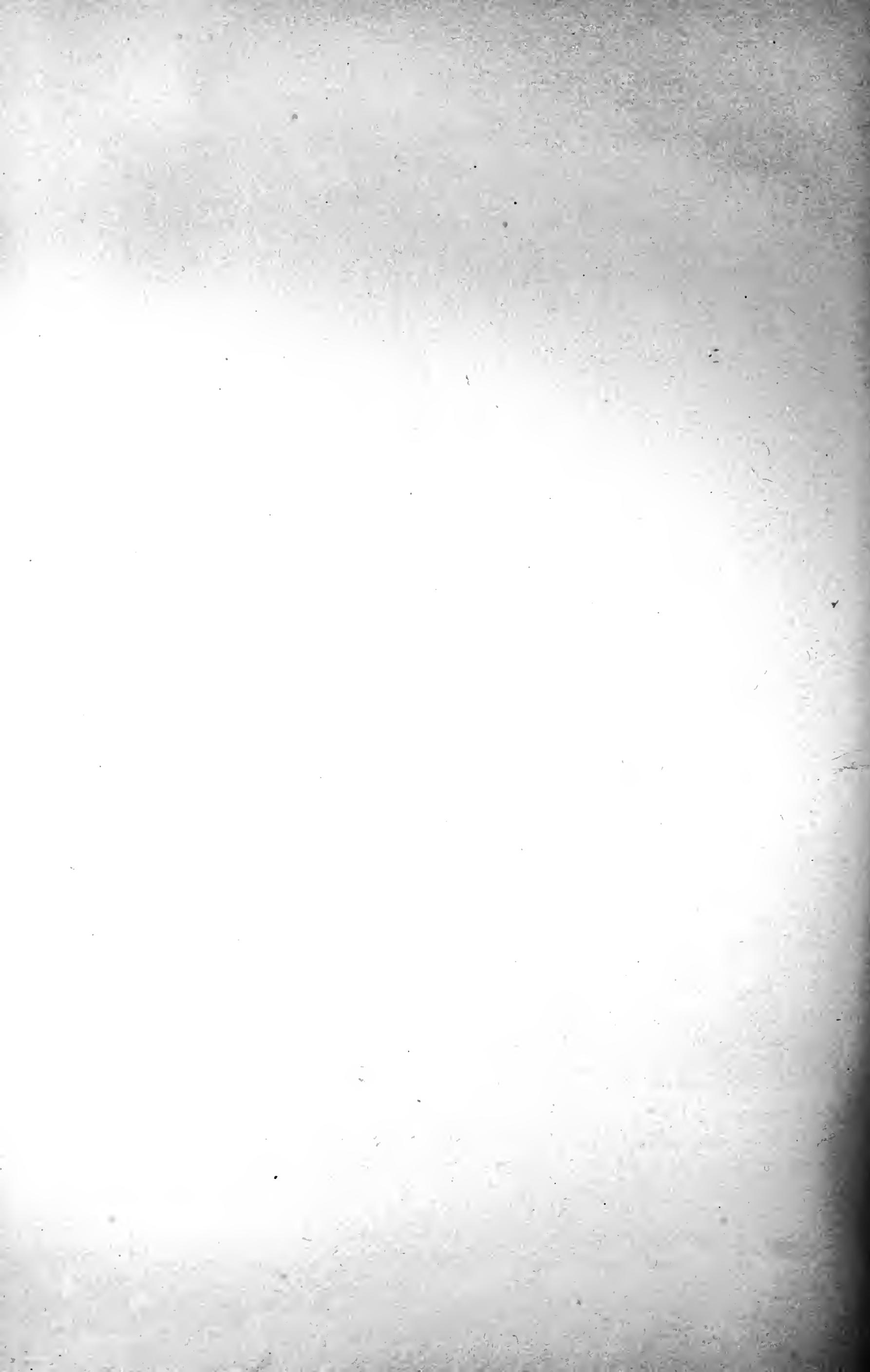
On Wednesday, the 10th inst. the remains of RICHARD CARY, Esq. of Charlestown, were committed to the grave with every mark of respect due to so excellent a character. Mr. CARY was an ornament and blessing to society. His temper was gentle, pacifick and benevolent; his deportment polite and engaging; his friendships were sincere and affectionate; his piety ardent and exemplary; his charity warm and extensive. He was a true friend to religion, and zealously engaged in every practicable design of promoting the cause of christianity. His virtues and accomplishments gained him the love of a numerous acquaintance: He maintained a large correspondence, and was highly respected at home and abroad. Strangers were always happy in his company. He was affable, condescending and obliging to all; and was never more in his element than when doing good. His death was sudden; but he died as he had lived, and as every good man would wish to die, bearing testimony with his last breath to the religion of the gospel, and supported by the hope of a blessed immortality.



A. NELSON Boston.

Dennis De Beddoe

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the possession of
the Commonwealth of Massachusetts



underneath the portrait is a design of the De Berdt coat of arms, also reproduced here.

Of De Berdt's family, little need be said. His only son Dennis, though he never came to this country, was deeply interested in American affairs, and at one time had an official connection with New Jersey. He married about 1777,¹ and died in England on March 31, 1817.² Owing to the similarity in names, he is sometimes confused with his father.³

¹ Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, ii. 258; Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 292.

² W. B. Reed states that he "died at an advanced age in or about the year 1820" (Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 35 note). His death is recorded in the Morning Chronicle, London, of April 1, 1817: "On the 31st ult. Suddenly, by the rupture of a blood vessel, Dennis De Berdt, Esq. of Clapton, Middlesex" (p. 3/5). The death of a "Mrs. De Berdt, of Totenham," is noted in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1803, lxxiii. 283.

The will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Jenner, 284) of Dennys De Berdt of St. Luke's, Middlesex, merchant, dated August 11, 1769, and proved August 6, 1770, contains the following items: "I desire that not more than £20 be paid on my funeral. I hereby confirm the gift of a house at St. John's Row, Exeter, to my cousin Francis Bedwell, of the said city, to him & his heirs for ever. I bequeath to the widow of the late M^r Thomas Zouch, of the Bank of England, or if she be dead to be equally divided among their children, £100. To my late partners, Wright Burkitt & Stephen Sayre, £20 each. To my son Dennis & my daughter Esther, £1000 each. To my wife Martha De Berdt, £2000. To my executor, Thomas Uffington, £50. Residuary legatee, my wife Martha. Executors, my said wife, M^r Thomas Uffington & my son, Dennis De Berdt." The name of Wright Burkitt, broker, appears in a list of bankrupts printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1773 (xlivi. 104).

The will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Effingham, 237) of Dennis De Berdt of Freeman's Court, Cornhill, and Clapton, parish of St. John, Hackney, Middlesex, dated March 20, 1811, and proved May 3, 1817, contains the following items: "Residuary legatees, my son Dennis De Berdt & my daughter, Mary Hovell. I desire to be buried in Bunhill Fields. Executors, James Comerford & my son-in-law, Thomas Hovell. Codicil dated December 6, 1811, that having given large sums of money to his son, the same are to be counted as part of his legacy."

³ On May 11, 1769, William Franklin wrote to his father:

Mr. Morgan, our Secretary, is in Canada. . . . Mr. Reed, our Dep'y Sec'y, has, I understand, let his house in Trenton, and intends soon for England, to marry De Berdt's Daughter. He has not, however, mentioned his intention to me, and perhaps will not think it necessary (New Jersey Archives, x. 114).

On January 5, 1776, Governor Franklin wrote to Lord Dartmouth:

But I am told that they have obtained a Copy of the whole of that Letter, though only a part was laid before Parliament. By what means this has been done

De Berdt's only daughter, Esther, was born October 11, 1747. When Joseph Reed, after graduating at the College of New Jersey in 1757, went to London in 1763 and read law at the Middle Temple, he met the De Berdts, fell in love with Esther, and an engagement — at first secret, but soon avowed — took place between them. For some reason the elder De Berdt¹ refused his consent to a marriage, and it was not until after his death that the two were married at St. Luke's Church, London, on May 22, 1770. They soon came to this country, bringing Mrs. De Berdt¹ with them, and reached Philadelphia late in October, as appears from the following notice in the Boston News-Letter on November 8:

PHILADELPHIA, *October 29.*

The Hon. JOHN FOXCROFT, Esq; . . . and JOSEPH READE, Esq; of Trenton, and his Lady, (a Daughter of the late DENNYS DEBERDT, Esq; the worthy and faithful Agent of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay) are safe arrived here . . . from London, to the great Joy of their numerous Friends (p. 3/1).

Joseph Reed's subsequent career is too well known to require comment. He died on March 5, 1785, his wife having previously died on September 18, 1780. Of her many letters that have been printed, a few are interesting, but only two need be quoted. On December 12, 1766, she wrote to Reed:

My papa has a good many letters to write by the packet, and as he cannot transact business as quickly as he used to do, you must excuse a letter from him now. He bids me tell you his opinion of Dr. Franklin, — that he stood entirely neuter till he saw which way the cause would be carried, and then broke out fiercely on the side of America.²

I cannot learn, but I find it is suspected that it was obtained by some management of M^r De Berdt, and that this has been one Reason for the Assembly appointing him their Agent (New Jersey Archives, x. 681).

To this passage is appended this note: "Dennis De Berdt, father-in-law of Joseph Reed. He was appointed November 24, 1775. — *Minutes of Provincial Congress, etc., 1775–6*, 295." The person alluded to in the first of these extracts was of course the elder De Berdt, while the person mentioned in the second was the younger De Berdt.

¹ From a letter written by Esther De Berdt (Life, p. 49) on March 16, 1765, it appears that her parents were married about 1745. Mrs. De Berdt lived with her son-in-law Joseph Reed until 1783, when she returned to England. The date of her death is unknown.

² Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 107.



De Berdt

The D. Berdt family were driven out
of their possessions at Doorn in Flanders
by the Duke Alva in 1568

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

And on March 14, 1775, she wrote to her brother: "Do tell us what part the great Dr. Franklin is taking; whether he has the openness to declare his sentiments before he sees which way affairs will terminate."¹

Of the one hundred and sixty-six or so letters and documents here for the first time brought together, it is believed that most have not before been printed.² Though they contain some references to private affairs, those written between 1765 and 1770 relate almost wholly to public events, and may be read in connection with Judge Chamberlain's chapter on "The Revolution Impending" in the *Narrative and Critical History of America* (VI. 1-112), the Rev. Edward G. Porter's chapter on "The Beginning of the Revolution" in the *Memorial History of Boston* (III. 1-66), the Boston Records, the Writings of Samuel Adams, Wells's Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, Tudor's Life of James Otis, Massachusetts Papers, Bradford's Massachusetts State Papers, the *American Gazette*, Almon's Prior Documents, the Political Register, the *True Sentiments of America* (1768), and the contemporary newspapers.³

LETTER BOOK OF DENNYS DE BERDT, 1765-1770

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON, Decem^r. 14th. 1765.

HON^{ble}. COL. WHITE⁴

I rec^d. your obliging favour of the 7th. Ult. acquainting me of your House appointing me their special Agent in the Important affairs now dependg. relating to your Province & the respectfull manner in which you are pleased to express it as well as the Large Majority by which I was chosen doubles the obligation.

pr.
Packett

¹ Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 210.

² Exactly how many have previously been printed it would be impossible to say without an exhaustive search in the contemporary Boston newspapers. Some were there printed with De Berdt's name attached, others were there printed but without naming De Berdt as the writer.

³ Many letters written to De Berdt will be found in Massachusetts Papers, in Bradford's Massachusetts State Papers, and in 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 347-366.

Attention may not inappropriately be called to Edwin P. Tanner's paper on "Colonial Agencies in England during the Eighteenth Century" (*Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1901, xvi. 24-49).

⁴ Samuel White (1700-1769), Speaker of the Massachusetts House.

I imidiately attended L^d. Dartmouth with instructions & your several Petitions who Communicated them to the Secretarys of State & L^d. Rockingham who re^{cd}. them very favourably & I rec^d. them Back today untill the several Agents meet & agree how to proceed & deliver them in form. I thought it much more important to Lay the papers before the ministry than Loose time to consult Mr. Jackson¹ whom I meet at L^d. Dartmouths today & He promised you all the service in his Power

I have the pleasure to acquaint you the ministry are intirely convinced of the Bad Tendency of the late regulations & disposed to relieve you, but expect a warm opposition from the old ministry & what they Call the Country Party, you may depend nothing in my power shall be wanting to serve you as I am fully persuaded the Interest of the Colonies & their Mother Country are Inseperable & with their affection mutual.

I have further the satisfaction to Inform you that the merchants of London are warmly espous^g. your Cause, have Chosen a Committee to Carry on an application to parliment who have sent Circular Letters to the Principal Cities & Towns throughout the Kingdom to Join their Weight and influence with ours & then to Bring Both City & Country an well as your own Petittions in aid to the ministry which I hope will be a way superior to any party opposition that can be made against us²

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON Dec^r. 27th. 1765.

THE HON^{ble}. COL. WHITE

pr
Dixey.³

I wrote you a hasty Line by the Packett the 14 Inst^t. thank you for the favour your Hon^{ble}. House has done me in appointing me their spec^l. agent in the very Important affairs now depend^g. in Parliment, of which I Here send you a Copy, & also inclose His majestys speach in which He has a reference to the Petittions from the Congress, my Copies not being deemd authentick vouchers, and indeed made me think it a Little strange to send me an appointment on so Important an affair & no Authentick vouchers to lay before the ministry which understanding m^r. Jackson Had, to day I rec^d. them from Him, & will make the Best use I Can of them for the Interest of the Province

¹ Richard Jackson.

² A copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives contains the following sentence, not in the Letter Book: "I write this as a Committee man as well as as Agent as I would omitt nothing that would ease the minds of the province being ambitious in every Capacity of shewing you how much I am Yrs &c" (lvi. 467).

³ Capt. Thomas Dixey.

Mr. Jackson shew'd me the Letter that Came wth. them & thereby it appears they was sent by your Representatives of the Congress from New York,¹ & not from the House of Representatives at Boston who Transmitted the Copies only, the other members of the Congress waiting for the Choice of the several Assemblies of the Provinces none of their special Appointments have yet arrived that it looks as if I must go with the weight of all the Provinces for I am determined there shall not be a day lost, as soon as the ministry who are Intirely in your Interest think it proper for me to act, which they will faithfully inform me what steps to take, L^d. Dartmouth in particular with whom I dined yesterday in a free Friendly Conversatⁿ. professed a real affection for America which gave me & Good Mr. Smith ² who dined with us a sensible pleasure, for it is happy to have a Friend at Court.

Mr. Jackson assures me of all the assistance in His Power both in & out of the House & should Divine Providence Honour me to be an Instrum^t. of Good to a Province where there is so many of His faithfull servants as I really believe there is in yours it will be peculiar pleasure and satisfaction to yours &c.

As our Parliment dont meet to do Business untill the 17th the next Packett can Bring you nothing material, but at the openning the sessions your affairs Bore a very favourable aspect.³

DE BERDT TO HARRISON GRAY

LONDON Dec^r. 28th. 1765.

HARRISON GRAY Esqr.

I this moment rec^d. your favour of the 11th Novem^r. Covering a Bill of exchange for £200 w^{ch}. I doubt not will be duly Honoured & shall be faithfully apply'd to the Service of the Province

pr.
Dixey
Copy
pr.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON Jany. 11th, 1766.

THE HON^{ble}. COL. WHITE

Having spent most of the Day in attend^g. Lord Dartmouth I have only Time this Eveng: to refer you to the above nothing material has since occur'd but to assure you no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to demonstrate that I am

Pr
Packett

¹ The Stamp Act Congress.

² John Smith, a Boston merchant, often mentioned.

³ A copy of this letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 468-469.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON Jan^y. 16, 1766.THE HON^{ble}. COL. WHITE

pr
Packett
Copy pr.

I wrote you on Saturday pr Packett to acquaint you our American affairs bore a very favourable aspect. But on Tuesday Mr. Pitt in a long Speach opened in our favour silenced all the objections of the old Ministry & asserted yr. right of Internal Taxation in the strongest Terms & declared nothing else but a Total repeal would answer the Salutary ends in View, nay that it was the Interest of Great Britain to extend your Commerce & open every markitt for your Produce.

The London Merchants Pettition is deliv'd the several Parts of the County will follow as well as your Pettition which has had its use privately with the ministry Into whose hands I immediately put them, & as I had been inform'd they had been put into the Hands of the old Speaker Onslow¹ I waited on Him yesterday & had some free Conversation with Him, & He is very explicitely in the favour of America & He was so obliging as to mention me to L^d. Dartmouth as an old friend of His

The ministry are kind enough to detain the Packett that the merchants & Agents may write to America to relieve their Anxiety. I shall Continue to solicit the affair with the greatest assiduity &c.

DE BERDT TO ABRAHAM LYNSEN

LONDON Jany. 16th, 1766.MR. ABR^m. LYNSEN.pr.
Packett.

I wrote on Saturday to Mr. Smith and desired Him to acquaint you our New ministry were Freinds to America & that I hop'd for no less than a Total Repeal of the oppressive Acts which since has become more evident by the Debates of the House on Tuesday when Mr. Pitt appeared openly in your favour & gave such reasons not only at a Repeal but asserted your Privileges as Englishmen back with such arguments as silenced all opposition. I am Witness to the Good disposition of the ministry, as I am chose special Agent on this Occasion for Boston but Wonder in the Pettitions of the Congress I see no Signature for New York &c.

¹ Arthur Onslow (1691-1768).

DE BERDT TO GEORGE WYLLYS

LONDON Jany. 16th, 1766.GEORGE WILLIS ESQ.^r.¹

No appointment of special Agent from you or any other of the Provinces but that for Massachusetts Bay who have appointed me for that service appearing I was determined to use your joint Pettition to the Best purposes for the Colonies advantage tho I stood alone in that service I have therefore Imediately on the receipt of them put them into the Hands of the ministry & they have had so good an effect that your American Interest bears a very favourable aspect for on Tuesday when the Kings speach came under Consideration in the House of Commons Mr. Pitt declared in your favour not only for repealing the Noxious Laws but in assisting the very priviledges you Contend for which is such an interesting piece of News I could not answer Concealing Especially as the ministry are so obliging to detain the Packett a few days that we might have the opportunity as early as possible to ease the solicitudes of our Friends in America should there be occasion on the process of the affair to see Counsill I doubt not but you will be y^r. Part of the Expence that the Whole may not lye on Boston.

pr.
Packett

Sent Copy of the above Letter to Rhode Island

Sent another Copy to New Jersey

Sent another Copy to Pennsylvania

Sent another Copy to Kent & Sussex on Delaware

Sent another Copy to Mariland.

pr.
Packett
Copies
Pr.
Packett

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON Feby. 15th, 1766HON^{ble} COL. WHITE

Since my last there has been great debates about American affairs & many ill natured things flung out against America, that I thought it absolutely necessary to present your Pettition (especially as last year your Pettition by some means miscarried) I accordingly waited on Gen^l. Conway our Secretary of State with that to His Majesty which He said He would present, & that to the House of Commons into the

pr.
Califf²
Copy
pr.
Packett¹ George Wyllys (1710-1796), long Secretary of Connecticut.² Capt. Robert Calef.

Hands of our member for Middlesex¹ a man of considerable Influence in the House & Chairman of the American Committee who was so well pleased with the Petition that He undertook to present it to the House which He introduced & read Twice over with His remarks thereon which was taken up & supported by Mr. Pitt but the House objected to the Congress & therefore after 2 Hours debate it was dropt without either being accepted or Rejected.

But Gen^l. Conway desired me to assure my Friends in America that it was not from any disrespect to them but purely from the form That to the House of Lords I delivered to L^d. D: but the House Could not receive it because it was *memorial* which that House never accepts — Mr. Conway told me there was 3 Parties in the House, one was severe method the other for a Repeal but for previous resolves to assert the right & Power of Parliament, the Third which Includes the ministry for a Repeal without any previous resolutions at all but in Order to secure the Repeal they were obliged to agree to the resolves in order to secure a majority for a Repeal which by that means He apprehended they should be secure in the great Question, in which light He hoped the Americans would take their resolutions however the Strength of Mr. Grenvils Party has been Tryed by His moving to inforce the Act which was rejected by a majority of above 2 to 1 in the Commons & in the House of Lords the motion was withdrawn, the ministry detain'd the Packett that it may Carry the news of a Repeal, & have several other Regulations in favour of America, & I really think them your Friends, I was desirous of Giving you this Previous account by Califf & when the Packett sails you may depend on further Particulars.

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS, ETC.

LONDON Feb^y 15th, 1766.

JAMES OTTIS Esq^r & OTHERS

I duly received your obliging favour full of Good sense & Candid & Strong reasoning & I agree with every sentiment, & Immediately laid it before L^d. D. our American Patron, For the Particular State of affairs I refer you to what I wrote to Col. White by this vessell, as I would miss no opportunity of assuring you how much I am yours &c.

pr
Califf
Copy
pr
Packett

¹ George Cooke: cf. p. 335, below.

DE BERDT TO GEORGE WYLLYS

LONDON Feby 15th, 1766.GEO. WILLIS, ESQ^r.

Since the above many difficulties have started & strong opposition appeared against repealing the oppressive Laws & many ill NATURED things flung out against America made me think it quite necessary your Congress petition should come before the House of Commons, & be delivered to the King accordingly I waited on the Secretary of State & delivered that to His majesty & acquainted Him with my Intention to put the other to the House of Commons into the Hands of our member for Middlesex a Gentleman of Considerable weight in the House who kindly undertook it & read it over twice in the House making his own remarks as He went along, which was strenuously supported by Mr. Pitt but the Congress itself being Judged an illegal assembly the House would not receive it in form; tho Gen^l Conway our Secretary of state desired me to assure our Friends in America the objection did not arise from disrespect but merely from the form.

pr
Califf
Copy pr
Packett

That to the House of Lords was absolutely refused as a *memorial* which that House never receives, I have the satisfaction to have Carried the affair as far as the Case would admitt, the Strength of Both Houses has been tryed by the old ministry proposing Inforcing the Act, which has been rejected in one House by a majority of 21 to 1 & in the other the motion Withdrawn, but as I only interested myself in Pushing the Congress Pettition I shall refer you to your Proper Agent¹ for the Isue of the important affair — The matter of the Pettition was so fully debated in the House for some Time, that there was no room for Feeing Counsill as was Hinted in the Pettition & that expence became unnecessary.²

Sent Copy of the Above Letter to Rhode Island.

pr
Califf

¹ Richard Jackson. See Massachusetts House Journals, December 8, 1766, February 5, 1767, pp. 216-217, 250.

² A letter dated February 28, 1766, about the Declaratory Act, signed by De Berdt and twenty-eight others, is in 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xi. 446-448. For allusions to De Berdt, see Massachusetts Historical Collections, First Series, ii. 44; Fifth Series, ix. 214; Sixth Series, ix. 150, 160, 165, 269; New Jersey Archives, xxv. 40.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON March 1st, 1766.THE HON^{ble} COL WHITE.

You will by to Nights Packett which the ministry were so obliging as to detain on purpose, receive ample Accounts of the proceedings & opposition that attended the Repeal of the Stamp Act, which as this ship may arrive before the Packett, I have the pleasure to acquaint you the repeal has now passed the Commons & make no doubt but it will pass the Lords & obtain His majestys assent — If you have any further Instructions to give me to promote your privilidges & prosperity they shall be Carefully attended to & Faithfully executed by

pr
Jacobson¹
Copy pr
the express

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM SMITH

LONDON March 1766

MR. WILL^m SMITH²

I know so much of your Patriotick spirit that it will give you pleasure to Hear the oppressive S: Act is now repeal'd & the merchants were so desirous to ease the minds of their friends in America, that they have Charterd this Ship to come express with the news for fear of any accident to the Common Conveyance

I congratulate you on the Happy occasion and the Breaking this main Link of the Chain of oppressⁿ. which had been Forged for America, for the whole appears to me to be a Scheme of oppression, & we are escaped. lett us be humble & Thankfull, eye God & His Providence & give Him the praise of our deliverance

There is yet much to be done, the Admiralty Courts must be restrained the exorbitant Duty on Molasses Lowerd, & the restraints on Trade removed & tho we hope to effect through the favour of the present ministry, who Justly think the Interest of England & Her Colonies one, I have heard somethg. of the oppressive Case of Cunningham³ & the Noble st^a. for the Liberties of the People your son has made

¹ Capt. Howard Jacobson.

² William Smith (1697–1769) graduated at Yale College in 1719. He married (1) Mary Het, who died in 1754; and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Scott of England and widow of Col. Elisha Williams (H. C. 1711), fourth Rector of Yale College. The second William Smith (1728–1793) graduated at Yale in 1745 and wrote the well-known History of New York.

³ This is apparently an allusion to the case of Waddel Cunningham, about which there is much in the Colden Papers.

While I am writing yours of the 14th Jan^y and the Judicious discription of your scituuation & deep Concern for your oppressed Country further Convinces me the contents of this will be highly acceptable. Cunningh^s Case accompanied it, which was Injudiciously put in the Bagg & Cost 7/1 postage pamphlets should always be put into the Captains Chest & delivered at the Coffee House — I will read it with attention and Lay it before the ministry by way of information who are really friends to Liberty & Friends to America & what M^r Conway wrote to your province was really to preserve the peace, & If in the last Stage of Life I can be of any service to the Cause of Religion & Liberty it will be a real pleasure & satisfaction to yrs &c.

My Compliments to your excellent Lady & tell Her I Note the Contents of Her Letter of a Publick Nature but by this express I cannot get Time to answer it.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON March 17th.

THE HON^{ble} COL: WHITE

I have now to inform you the Repeal of the Stamp Act is now Compleated, & that the minds of the People might be eased as soon as possible the merchants have hired a Vessell to dispatch Imediately under their own direction for fear the Common opportunities of writing might by some means be delay'd or miscar'd.

You will have the Molasses duty reduced to 1^d & a new Regulation of the Admiralty Courts a Bill being soon to be brought into the House for that purpose & some other advantages to Trade which will be supported by the Body of Merchants & shall be duly attended to by yrs &c.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON April 26th 1766.

THE HON^{ble} COL. WHITE

I have the honour of yours of the 21st Feby. and your approving my Conduct gives me great satisfaction, but your honourable house Joining in that approbation raises it to the highest pitch, & should the further prosecutions of your Instructions which I have communicated in my succeeding Letters, meet with the Like Honour it will still stimulate my ambition to serve your Interest in the other Articles that are yet depending in parliament all which will not be compleated this season, for I want to gett the Duty on your Oyl, under the Like advantages by

Law to your fishing as was 60 years agoe enacted for Newfound Land, wherein the Inhabitants of New England are intirely overlook'd. Yours &c.

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM SMITH

LONDON May 18, 1766

THE HON^{ble} W^m. SMITH ESQ^r.

Your Duplicates of the 14th March came duly to hand & you will see by my several replys I have not neglected the Interest of America & congratulate you again on things taking so happy a turn & particularly that the matter of Repeals is settled according to Law & the safety & Liberty of the Colonies, which can never thrive but by the Plan of religious & Civil Liberty which I ever had at Heart & I can assure you with pleasure that is the Plan the present Ministry adopt & persue — On receiving your Papers I immediately waited on L^d Dartmouth as a friend & shewed him your Letter as well as the Petition & called yesterday for his Answer, he directed me to the usual method of laying it before the Council who will then refer to the board of Trade at which his Lordship presides & a Report from them in your favor will procure its desird success, I shall neglect no time in pushing it & have Reason to think L^d Dartmouth is my friend — Mr. Sparrow calld on me to know what expence I had been at, for the present it is only the Fees of the several Offices we go thro: & if it issues in a Mandamus as you observe the Expence will be considerable, which I shall advise you as we proceed, & direct my New Partner, M^r Stephen Sayre ¹ of your Province to wait on you (as he is on his way to America) & receive your Commands.

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM SMITH

LONDON June 14th, 1766

HON^{ble} WILL. SMITH ESQ^r

Since mine by this opportunity I have got your Pettition passed the Council, & referd to the Board of Trade and hope in 2 or 3 Weeks to get them reported back to the Council, as well as your Churches Pettit-

¹ Stephen Sayre, who graduated at the College of New Jersey in the same class with Joseph Reed (1757), became De Berdt's partner, and to him Reed attributed the financial disasters that overtook De Berdt at the close of his life. Sayre was elected a sheriff of London in 1773 — not, as usually stated, in 1774 — and, after a varied and picturesque career, died in Virginia in 1818.

tions¹ which I have advised Mr Jn^o Smith as I thought it would be some satisfaction to hear they were in motion & that they shall not be Neglected by

DE BERDT TO JOHN SMITH

LONDON June 14th 1766

MR JOHN SMITH

Since my Letters were put into the Bagg I have got your Churches petition¹ referd by the Council to the Board of Trade, and am in hopes 2 or 3 Weeks will produce their Report to the Council were I will diligently follow it untill I can obtain an order, though in the Interim it would be some satisfaction to know the affair is in any forwardness, my Compliments wait on the rest of the Gentleman an assure them that I am yrs. &c

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON July 2^d, 1766.M^r OTTIS

We now learn the happy News of the Repeals reaching you at Boston but the special occasion of my writing to you; is that the ministry have been inform'd that you & the Sons of Liberty speack very diminitively of what has been done for you. I can't think the report true, if false I should be glad to have it in my power to contradict it, This I am sure were you apprized of the Difficulties & reproach the Ministry have gone through to serve you, you must have a gratefull sense of what they have done, & are still desirous to do everything that appears to be for the mutual advantage of Great Britain & Her Colonies & therefore deserves your highest gratitude — If any one is doing ill offices between you and the ministry, I should be glad they may be detected & loose their Influence, that the Wound that has been made in affection of Great Britain & Her Colonies may be healed without a scar, & the sons of Liberty by their future Conduct may gain the esteem of a ministry acting on the like Principles at Home yours &c.

DE BERDT TO STEPHEN SAYRE

LONDON July 29th 1766

DEAR SAYRE

We received with great joy the news of your safe arrival, & hope it was an answer of Prayer, & hope the same ki^d Providences that has

¹ See p. 324 note 1, below.

secured you hitherto will still attend you in all your Journeying — I am much obliged to my Friends for their kind sentiments & will always endeavour to deserve them, their approbation will always stimulate my application on their behalf. I am much pleased wth your reception. I said you was a Wedge of my reputation in America sharpen the thin end your own conduct would Drive it — I will first talk with Capt Binney¹ & then with L^d D I wrote you of M^r C T² unaccountable turn nay he went so far as to say He was sorry I was Connected wth such an Impertinat Fellow There is no dependance on Him he is a meer Weather Cock we received yours on Saturday, & Hetty³ immediately wrote a line to her & inclosed it to Lincolnshire the Time being expired she was to spend at Haragate, & behold on Monday came a Letter to tell Her she stops 3 or 4 weeks at a friends House in Yorkshire puts Hetty sadly on the Fret, she writes to Night to tell Her you are well & where your lett^r. lies — M^r — was with me 2 Hours & gives me a very fair account of his own Conduct which almost persuades me He has been overcharged. I wrote last to New York, to apprizé you there is a party pretty strong for making M^r Ray (you remember Him) Agent or at least joint Agent with M^r Sergeant⁴ the Draper to whom they have voted a p of Plate for His services, so greatly are people imposed upon in America, you know the Nutrl part He acted untill the Division of the House discovered which side the Strength Lay & M^r J tells me He was introduced into Parliament by Mr. G—s⁵ Interesting this is setting the Fox to watch the Geese that it will be Necessary without Delay to go to New York & Trye our Interest where you will meet M^r Thelby⁶ & the rest of your Friends & try their Strength.

But among all your efforts Remember the money & Bowl that Home its the best Bait for the Whale fishing but look on Philadelphia as the Center where the bulk of the Debts lyes, & where M^r Reed⁷ will give you his assistance He longs to see you — The Governour is doubtless

¹ Probably Capt. Barnabas Binney.

² Probably Charles Townshend.

³ Esther De Berdt, who married Joseph Reed.

⁴ On January 19, 1765, John Sargent was returned to Parliament from West Looe (alias Portpigham) Borough, Cornwall, *vice* Francis Butler, deceased. In June, 1766, the New York Assembly resolved to make provision for an equestrian statue of George III, a statue of Pitt, and a piece of plate for Sargent; but it was not until February 6, 1768, that the money was actually voted — £1000, £500, and £100, respectively. (Colonial Laws of New York, iv. 1002–1003; Journal of the Legislative Council of New York, ii. 1653.)

⁵ Probably George Grenville.

⁶ Perhaps "Shelly."

⁷ Joseph Reed (1741–1785).

imprudent & its my opinion the Vote of our Parliament in His favour has oversett Him its more than He can bear & now He struts in his dignity, I know He is an old favourite of yours — When you come to New York call on M^r Phillip Doughty, He is a worthy man as Den¹ says. He has remitted us £500 to buy Him Goods we are promised same Doll^{rs} by Friend but things come home very slow.

You will make my Compliments acceptable to all my Friends & assure them of my best services

Tomorrow the address is to be delivered to his Majesty & there will be some changes in the Ministry to which M^r Pitt is Privy & among them He comes inn Conway is still Inn & Onslow & Rockingham out but do not hear the Board of Trade will be affected but the particulars are not yet known. All our Family join in attendance of Love to you wth

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM BRATTLE

LONDON July 19th 1766

MAJOR GEN¹ BRATTLE²

The obliging manner in which you open y^r Correspondence with me demands a Friendly acknowledgment & it gives me great pleasure to see a serious spir^t mixed with your rejoicing, the sermon³ as you say is a plain honest discourse suted to the Occasion, & hope this Temper is a token for good that God has yet mercies in store for your land — I read the Testimony you bear of the Lawalty of your People to L^d Dartmouth with which He was well pleased & the address of your house which will be presented to King Tomorrow is a further proof of it

You are very obliging to be concerned for my Health I bless God I enjoy an uncommon share of it for my years but have something of a Stone that I cannot Walk much tho I can bear a Carriage, & I think I have grown better ever since you have called me to Publick service for I desire to stand up in the cause of Civil & Religious Liberty while my Bellowes continue to heave or my pulse to reverberate — I thank you D^r Sir for your Civilities to M^r Sayre I trust he is a man after my own Heart who will take my Son by the Hand & animate Him to fill up my Place in the Church & the World when I shall be no more, the

¹ Dennis De Berdt.

² William Brattle (1706-1776).

³ Doubtless "A Thanksgiving Sermon on the total Repeal of the Stamp-Act. Preached in Cambridge, New England, May 20th, . . . By Nathaniel Appleton, M.A., Pastor of the First Church in said Town. Published by the Desire of the Audience, and at the Expence of the Honorable Brigadier General Brattle. . . . Boston: . . . 1766."

steadiness & unanimity of the Colonies in opposing Slavery, & the universal propriety of their Conduct on the Repeal has further endeared them to yours &c.

DE BERDT TO STEPHEN SAYRE

Mr SAYRES P S

Your mentioning Cambridge reminds me that I have heard concerning the scholars there, they were so proph. as to act the Day of Judgment with a mock Solemnity, pray enquire into the fact, for if it be true & the prophane wretches not expelled there is nothing to be expected from that Colledge.¹ Before sailing I received yours of the 30 June, I agree in your oppinnion of Mr Smith shall not send Him a penny more Goods but the difficulty is how to gett out, which if He can gett anyone to serve Him we may do, & that I shall Press. I was no stranger to His Circumstances but thought I might depend on his Integrity & Prudence but Alas! Hinc Lacrima! — I have not time to reply particularly, but we have suffered Inconveniencys by our money being out of our hands — which if you gett it will be remedied & don't fear having Trade enough nor then pleasing our Customers, but when you are more Particular I shall be more explicit, if this Reaches you at Boston see Mr Chamberlin gett a Certificate of the Landing of the Tea &c & send it to us to Cancell our Bond at the Custom House which He has Neglected to do

You know there is nothing to be done for America untill next Winter the Parliament meets, & the uncertainty who will be in the Board of Trade is discouraging if L^d D plan of a third Secretary of State takes place He will be the man, and America will be happy but it is uncertain.

We have nothing to do with Mr Smiths Jewels nor are they on Mr Smiths Account, the Jeweler sent them on His own Account

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON July 28, 1766

Mr Thos^s CUSHING²

I have the honour of yours covering an address to his Majesty Lord Dartmouth being out of Town I immediately sent my Son to lay it

¹ In the Diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames is the following entry under date of November 20, 1765: "Scholars punished at College for acting over the great and last day in a very shocking manner, personating the Jude etertat Devil, &c." (Dedham Historical Register, ii. 27).

² Thomas Cushing (1725–1788) was chosen Speaker of the House on June 28, 1766, after James Otis had been disapproved by Governor Bernard.

before his Lordship & have his directions for Presenting it on Wednesday, & it is no small satisfaction to me that it is the first that has arrived & evidences that as none of the Colonies had a Juster sense of Liberty than your Province so none have been so forward in this Publick way to testifie their Loyalty & affection to your King & Mother Country

The approbation of my conduct by your honourable House¹ will lay me under fresh obligations to promote the Interest of the Province to the utmost of my Power

My expences have been of that nature in Numberless attendances & applications that it is not in my Power to ascertain them but believe they hardly amount to one Quarter part of the money your house remitted for that purpose & even Postage has been no inconsid^{le} article nor is their any attendance on great People & great offices without expences, tho this I always laid down as a rule to be Prudently Frugal of Publick money

This Ship going Tomorrow I can only desire you will assure your hono^{b1e} House I am with profound esteem yours &c.

DE BERDT TO —— DOWN AND —— THORNTON

LONDON July 29th 1766

M^r DOWN & M^r THORNTON

I received yours of the 20th April but not untill the 30 June & have sent to M^r Jackson for the Papers & have perused them & think your Case very hard, M^r Jackson has also acquainted me with some difficulties that have prevented his laying the Case before the Board some of them are remo^d but a present Change of the ministry makes the application at this Time improper when they are settled will push the affair & advise you of the success.

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON July 28, 1766

M^r OTTIS

Since my last I have received yours with News Papers which give me Concern at the misunderstanding there is between your house & the Governour I should think it must be unhappy for you Both.

You may depend on every thing in my power for the Peace & Welfare of the Province, tho Prudence & caution must be exercised, & sometimes

¹ See p. 301, above.

it is possible to overcome evil with Good which whether it succeeds or not it is a satisfaction to the mind that makes the attempt & therefore earnestly recommended by yours &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Aug^t 6; 1766

MR THOS CUSHING

Since my last I received a few lines from Lord D: in which he says

Copy pr.
Young¹

"I am sorry to hear that the Assembly of Boston has *refused* to make the indemnification recommended by Parliam^t. New York has complied"

had you been here to be fully apprised of the long debate in the House your friends supported to obtain the Word *Recommend* as a term intirely consistant with your Liberty, it must have left a gratefull impression on your minds, which your adress presented to His Majesty By the Duke of Richmond is so full of both to King & Parliament, that I can hardly believe you should come to such a resolution, if the report be a slander on the Province, I shall be glad if you will put it in my power to refute it, as I am ambitious your assembly who I have the honour to be employed by should stand high in the esteem of the King & Ministry, & Parliament as well as in the esteem of all the real Friends of America which such a refusal will Abate²

¹ Probably Capt. Robert Young.

² There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 487. It was printed in the Boston Gazette of November 10, 1766, p. 1/2; in Massachusetts State Papers, p. 101; and in the Massachusetts Province Laws, iv. 936. The following is taken from the Massachusetts House Journals of November 7, 1766:

Bill read. A Bill intituled, *An Act for granting Compensation to the Sufferers, and of free and general Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion to the Offenders in the late Times*, was considered and Debated according to Order: And it was moved that a Clause be inserted therein to oblige every Town for the future, where any Riots shall happen and Damage ensue, to make Compensation for the same: And the Question being put, it pass'd in the Negative, 27 Yeas, 45 Nays.

Printers di-
rected. Ordered, That the Printers be directed to publish a sufficient number of Copies of this Bill; and also Mr. Agent De Berdt's two Letters of 6th of August, and 19th of September, and deliver the same to the Members for the Consideration of their several Towns (p. 182).

There is in the Boston Public Library (H. 90a. 88) a four-page leaflet which begins as follows:

The following Bill now pending in the House of Representatives, is published by their Order for the Consideration of the several Towns in this Province.

A Bill intituled, An Act for granting Compensation to the Sufferers, and of free

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM SMITH

LONDON Aug^t 5, 1766.**THE HONBLE WILL SMITH Esq^r**

I received yours of the 24 June accompanied with Mr Buels narration ¹ which gives me great satisfaction but such Parcels should be delivered to the Captain care for when flung into the bagg come by the post & are very expensive. I have received three from diff^t friends which cost near 15/ Postage which might have been avoided not that I think them dear I would not but have saw them for more money than they cost,

and general Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion to the Offenders in the late times.

Then follow the Act, an extract from Secretary Conway's letter of August 31, 1766, and De Berdt's letters of August 6 and September 19. The Act was passed December 6, 1766 (Massachusetts Province Laws, iv. 903-904), but was disallowed by the Privy Council May 13, 1767.

¹ "A Faithfull Narrative of the Remarkable Revival of Religion, in the Congregation of East-Hampton, on Long-Island, In the Year of our Lord 1764. With Some Reflections. By Samuel Buell, A.M. Minister of the Gospel there. New-York: . . . 1766."

The dedication is dated September 25, 1765; and the Narrative concludes (p. 87) as follows:

Some late Accounts from the Rev. Mr. *Wheelock*, of *Lebanon*, together with the prevailing and excellent Disposition of many Persons both in *Europe* and *America* generously to contribute towards the Support of the *collegiate School*, more immediately under his indefatigable Care, gives ground to hope for the Propagation of the Gospel among the original *Natives of America*: Whereby the Kingdom of our inthroned *Saviour* will have the greater Extension, and the brighter Resplendency on Earth. AMEN! Even so come LORD JESUS; Come quickly!

On the verso of the half-title of the copy of this pamphlet in the Harvard College Library is written in ink "For Mr John Bailey from Samson Occom." In 1761 Mr. Buell published at New York "The Excellence and Importance of the saving Knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel-Preacher, plainly and seriously represented and enforced: And Christ preached to the Gentiles in Obedience to the Call of God. A Sermon, Preached at East-Hampton, August 29, 1759; at the Ordination of Mr. Samson Occum, A Missionary among the Indians." See pp. 426, 444, below.

The Boston Gazette of December 23, 1765 (p. 3/1), states that Occom and the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker sailed that morning for England. Landing at Brixham, Devonshire, on February 3, 1766, the two rode on horseback to Exeter, thence in a coach to Salisbury, and reached London on the 6th. There they were "hospitably entertained at the house of Mr. De Berdt," and the next day were conducted by John Smith to the house of Whitefield.

one I have put into the hands of L. D. which gave him great pleasure Rara Avis! a Nobleman pleased with such a narrative — I am sorry by Dr^r Chandlers death ¹ the address of the Synod is not come to light. I have sent to his Widdow & if I can recover it will endeavour to gett it to his majesty — your Pettition still lays with the Board of Trade, & the Governour having one of the same Nature, yours cannot be preferred. I will endeavour to keep pace with it, but at present there is such confusion in the change of Ministry, that nothing can be done L^d D insists on such a Scheme for America as will be greatly to their advantage but M^r Pitt objects to it, & he has the moddeling of the new ministry that it is very uncertain whether L^d D is in or not — I had a Line from Him yesterday which gives me reason to hope He is not out yett

I sent y^r Letter to Dr^r Wood & M^r Whitfield as soon as I received them — nothing more can be done for trade untill the Parliament meets in the Winter, & then if we have a favourable ministry many things may be done to relieve you & was really intended by the late ministry & you have some known Friends in the new — you may depend I will omitt nothing in my Power to serve you & the Colonies. I am much concerned for good Mr. Finly ² who I hear is in dying circumstances

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Septem^r 2^d 1766

M^r THO^s CUSHING

Not
sent

I duly received yours of the 28 June coverg. your vote of thanks in the late debate, which I directly delivered, tho most of them were out of Town during the Recess of Parliament, yesterday I received the duplicate & put fresh covers to M^r George Onslow ³ one of the very warmest of your friends & to M^r Tho^s ⁴ & Charles Townesend, ⁵ both of

¹ The Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler (1693–1766). In the Dartmouth Manuscripts is a memorial and petition, dated March 18, 1766, from the Presbyterian Church in New York to the Moderator and Members of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, “soliciting the help of the venerable Assembly in obtaining a charter of incorporation for them. They have also applied to Mr. Dennis Debert and Doctor Samuel Chandler to make and solicit their application for the royal order” (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th Report, app. part x. p. 38).

² The Rev. Samuel Finley (1715–1766), President of the College of New Jersey.

³ George Onslow (1731–1814), afterwards first Earl of Onslow.

⁴ Probably Thomas Townshend (1733–1800), afterwards first Viscount Sydney; but possibly Thomas Townshend (1701–1780), son of Charles Townshend (1674–1738), second Viscount Townshend.

⁵ Charles Townshend (1725–1767), son of Charles Townshend (1700–1764), third Viscount Townshend.

whom espoused your cause, the latter was very friendly to the exten-
tion of your Trade.

I think myself highly honoured by the approbation of your House &
shall always be ambitious of deserving it, by a faithfull prosecution of
all future directions — What ever proposals the merchants have to make
will be in Time, as nothing can be done during the recess of Parliament,
& the new ministry thourghly established but we have lost several good
friends by the change pray make my duty acceptable to your honourable
house & assure them I am with deep veneration Sir Yours &c.¹

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Sept. 2, 1766

M^r Tho^s CUSHING

I duly received yours of the 28 June & duplicate togeather covering
your votes of thanks ² to your several friends in the late debates which I
directly delivered tho most of them were out of Town during the recess
of Parliament you have omitted two very material Gentlemen Mr. G.
Onslow son to the old Speaker & I may say the very warmest of your
friends & one of the Lords of the Treasury as well as Mr. Charles Town-
send now Chancelor of the exchequer who was very friendly to the
extention of your Trade

Copy per
Blake³

I think myself highly honoured by the approbation of your house
& shall always be ambitious of deserving it, by faithfull Procection of
all future directions.

Whatever proposals the merchants have to make will be in time as
nothing can be done during the recess of Parliament, & the new ministry
thourghly established but we have lost several Good friends by the
Change — Pray make my duty acceptable to your honourable house
& assure them I am with deep veneration, yours & their faithfull hble.
servant ⁴

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Sept^r 19, 1766

THE HON^{ble} Tho^s CUSHING

Since my last to you I have received severl. letters from your Friends ^{Copy}
in answer to your vote of thanks, which I herewith inclose, & by the uni- ^{pr}
^{Bruce⁵}

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 507.

² See Massachusetts House Journals, June 20, October 30, November 13,
1766, pp. 108-109, 150, 202.

³ Probably Capt. John Blake.

⁴ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii, 496.

⁵ Capt. James Bruce.

versal [approbation] it has mett, proves it a very well judged measure. L^d Chesterfield & the old speaker Onslow, both whose hearts were warm in your cause, were very particularly pleased & the latter desired me to assure your house, he esteem'd it the highest honour could be fixed on him

I have yesterday waited on L^d Shelbourn our new secretary of State & his Lordship expressed himself to me in such terms as gave me great satisfaction & desired me to assure your house he had the highest regard for America wished their prosperity & would make it his care to promote it, that you might be perfectly easy about the enjoyment of your just rights & priviledges under the present administration but on the other hand the dignity of government must be maint'd as well as due regard to the administration here wch. I assured him was their real disposition, as was manifest by tenor of all their letters & addresses two of which came through my hands, yours & from the lower Counties of Pensilvania

He desired you would finish the affair of the damages sustained because it gave occasion to yours & the enimys of the administration to upbraid them for the gentle measures they adopted on the other hand He had also wrote to every Governour on the continent to behave with temper & moderation to the sever¹. Provinces over which they preside, & he had wrote to your Governour in particular to persue healing measures & was so condesending to offer shewing me Copy of his letter the next time I waited on Him & added that what ever new govenours were made for the future, he would take care to send such men as should act upon the most generous principals & thereby secure the affection of the People

This his Lordship declared with a generous frank & openness which looses a great deal of his Native beauty by the imperfect representation of ¹

DE BERDT TO CÆSAR RODNEY, THOMAS MCKEAN, AND GEORGE READ

LONDON Sept^r 23: 1766

CÆSAR RODNEY &c THO^s. M KEEN J: READ ²

I received your Packett forwarded by M^r Rhea of Philadelphia containing an address to his majesty which I put into the hands of Lord

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 515-516. It was printed in the Boston Gazette of November 10, 1766, p. 1/2; in Massachusetts State Papers, p. 102; and (in part) in the Massachusetts Province Laws, iv. 936. See also p. 322 note 2, above.

² Cæsar Rodney (1728-1784), Thomas McKean (1734-1817), and George Read (1733-1798).

Shelburn our new Secretary of State who presented it to his Majesty & was very graciously received. I told His Lordship it appeared to me, wrote with the most honest sympathy of any I had seen, he said it did & the King was so well pleased with it that he read it over twice — you have done me great honour by, the vote of the house in my favour, which I have also had from two other assemblies, but as yet no other Symbol or token of respect, but from you which when ever I look on,¹ I shall af-fresh remember your gratefull esteem, & my obligation to serve y^r Province whenever it lies in my power.

I have the pleasure to inform you, My Lord who has now the man-agement of American affairs your Grievances were²

DE BERDT TO EDWARD SHEAFE

LONDON 21st Oct^r 1767

EDWARD SHEAFFE³ ESQ^r.

I have received your friendly Letter of the 1st July 1767 — in which I agree with you intirely as to your principles of Conduct I shall make it my constant study while my strength permits to exert my influence in supporting the Harmony so necessary to preserve your happiness both here and in our Colonies — I view our connection in the same light as that between Soul & Body, and as healing Medicines convey the full Idea of preserving the natural Constitution, so healing measures are to be applyd to the Political — nor due violence sent either — I shall pay particular attention to the affairs of your Provence from friendship & inclination, and whatever weight & influence you give me shall fall in the same Ballance — I am sorry any of my friends shoud be so thor-oughly mistaken as to imagine my services coud possibly prove more effectual from a partial Agency than from an appointment by the three Branches of the Legislature — for I can now assent to nothing or appear in the place they propose I shoud fill till a regular appointment under the seal of the Province is registerd at the board of Trade — I shall have a Conference with the Secretary of State in a few days and I shall acquaint you in what light those matters you mention appear to the Ministry.

I am with friendly esteem &c

¹ See pp. 300-301, above.

² This letter is concluded on a page torn out. It is quoted in J. T. Scharf's History of Delaware, i. 144, 185.

³ Edward Sheafe represented Charlestown in the General Court during 1764-1770. He was chosen Commissary General April 26, 1770 (Massachusetts House Journals, p. 189). The Boston Gazette of May 17, 1771, contained this notice: "This Morning died at Charlestown, Edward Sheaff, Esq; Commissary-General" (p. 2/3).

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL DEXTER

LONDON Dec^r 23^d 1767SAM DEXTER¹ ESQ^r

I received your several favours but can't refer to the particular dates as I left some of them with my Lord Shelburne for his perusal & have not yet received them again, tho: I have lately waited on him 3 times, but coud not meet with his Lordship, there being a fluctuation in the Ministry, during which time no business was done — I have all along declared against a Paper currency for Massachusetts Bay, & believe every body think it quite needless or prejudicial to you — Your Letters are always welcome to me, as they are full of solid reasoning & good sense, always pursuing the happy Plan of mutual Intrest between G. B. & her Colonies, in which you agree with me & confirm my Sentiments — I am sorry there has been such a Parade in the Newspapers, which the Enemies of America will construe an Insult on their Mother Country, & several things in your Papers have lately given offence; and it was with concern I saw them copied from paper to paper here, that you'll be under a necessity of manufacturing many & various commodities for your own use is very evident, for if you have not sufficient Funds for Remittances, our exportation of goods to you must diminish & if you had quietly pursued what necessity obliged you to, it woud have been sensibly felt here, without any ostentatious parade of words — There is a shaking in the ministry; & we are no less anxious than you are about the Elections in Parliament which will come on in May next — This is a very critical time in England — Provisions extremely dear — The Poor almost starving — and a farther decay of Trade must drive them to the most dreadfull extremities — I am extremely obliged to you for your friendly expressions for promoting my Interest — Your Country people can have no notion of the trouble there is in attending Ministers & Officers of State & are as little sensible of the unavoidable expences which attend it for they can't be enumerated — I assure you it has engrossd almost all my time & attention & flung my own business so backward as it never has been thro 30 years Trade — I think Mr. Jackson, as you observe, has a right to a suitable Reward for his service, & heartily wish it may be given him — When any thing material turns up I shall be always ready to communicate it to you as my nearest friends & am with great Esteem & sincerity yours

¹ Samuel Dexter (1726–1810). He represented Dedham in the General Court. Cf. p. 296, above.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Dec^r 21, 1767

THOMAS CUSHING Esqr.

I duly received yours of 15th 16th & 24th oct^r & 3^d of nov^r and when all my Letters come to hand you will see I have not neglected my Friends in Boston, & am very sorry for the occasion of your complaints, which I believe was entirely owing to that Hon^{ble} Gentleman¹ who has since gone off the stage; & whose vehement eloquence made a great impression upon the House, for my Lord Shelburn has assurd me repeatedly that the Ministry in general were true friends to America; & I hardly believe they woud have come into this measure coud they have avoided it — and I fear this making the Gov^{rs} & Judges less dependant upon the People will not promote your Peace & concord and am entirely with you in your desire to preserve your Liberties inviolate & think your reasoning just — I wish I coud inculcate it on Men in Power that this policy of imposing those grievances upon you is extremely wrong, and that G. B. ought to derive benefits from America in the way of Trade & not Taxes that making use of your own Manufactures as far it lies in your power will be both necessary and unavoidable, for if your Trade is diminished you cant make seasonable remittances for our Manufactures, and the Merchants here must refuse to supply you — As there is to be a new election next May — I hope such Members may be chosen as will exert their Interest in favour of injurd America — The reason of my sending the Acts of Parliament to M^r. Adams was — his having sent me the transactions of your Assembly, and meerly by accident — and I am sorry I shoud mistake in observing that punctilio — I thank you for the inclination you express for the increase of my salary. It is not a little unlucky that it shoud meet with obstruction from the Chair — I thank you for your present of M^r Rowland's Sermon² which is an honest well meant discourse, but it is so long since & nothing remarkably striking & coming at a time when there was a great prospect of the Ministry being changed — I did not think it proper to present it to M^r Conway — Whatever introduces economy among you must be attended with certain advantages, & the more of it prevails without noise or bustle, the more likely it is to make an impression on the Ministry here

¹ Doubtless Charles Townshend, who died September 4, 1767.

² Doubtless the Rev. David Sherman Rowland's Divine Providence Illustrated and Improved, a sermon preached in Providence, Rhode Island, on June 4, 1766, on the repeal of the Stamp Act.

You may rely upon my steady zeal to serve the Province and am glad to embrace every opportunity to assure you of my steady friendship and esteem and am

Your most obed^t. humble Servt.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 24th dec^r 1767

THOMAS CUSHING Esq^r

Altho I have no particular appointment or instructions from you — the appointment of Secretary of State for America, is an event of so much importance; I thought it necessary to communicate it to your House.

The Person appointed is Lord Hillsborough, who has never discovered any particular affection for America

Whatever necessity you may be under of pursuing any fresh measures of Oeconomy; I humbly submit it to the Judgment of the House, if it will not be best done silently and quietly without ostentation & parade, which will give occasion to your Enemies to construe it setting your mother Country at defiance

Whenever you honour me with any further commands they shall be punctually observed by

Your obed^t. humble Servant

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 12 March 68

Wrote pr Pacquet to M^r Cushing, that I had rec^d his fav^r of 30th Jan^y & 3^d Feb^y — deliv^d the several Letters, should take a suitable time to present y^e Petition to the King — had long since presented a State of your Situation to Lord Shelburne¹ & should send a Copy of y^e same with y^e fresh Acts of Parlia^t.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Mar 18, 1768

I wrote you the 12th of this Instant p the Packet acknowledging the receipt of your several favours; acquainted you that I had deliverd the Letters committed to my care, and shoud take the first favourable oppor-

¹ De Berdt's memorial to Shelburne is printed below, pp. 448-450.

tunity to present your Petition to his Majesty. — — You herewith have the several fresh Acts of Parliament relative to America, which I thought my Duty to send you by the first conveyance for your satisfaction — I likewise now send you Copy of a Representation which I drew up some time since; and deliverd to my Lord Shelbourne & some other of our friends, in which I rather chose to argue from the disadvantages, the late measures woud bring both upon America and the Mother Country, because such Arguments at present have by far the greatest weight here — At present the Kingdom is in a universal ferment from the general Election, as is always the Case on these occasions —

Whenever any thing happens, which may particularly concern you — I shall readily advise you of the same — I am with great Esteem —

Your most Obed^t & mo: Hum: Servant.

DE BERDT TO —

LONDON March 1, 1768

I am favourd with yours of the 30th of January acquainting me with your having a share in the Representations sent from the House by the same conveyance, and am exceeding sorry, you shoud have a foundation for so much uneasiness, which as I sensibly feel for you, you may depend on my utmost endeavours to remove — I am so fully of your opinion as to a free Representation among yourselves, that, whenever you lose it I suppose your Liberty must go along with it; but as there seems no probability of admittance to send Representatives here; I imagine we need not be yet alarmed — I always represent you in the light of good Subjects, strongly attached to his Majesty & Government, whenever I see occasion; and am very sorry for the removal of my Lord Shelbourne from the American Department, which is now made seperate and filled by my Lord Hillsborough, who I wish may be as warmly attached to that Country — I have now sent to the Speaker¹ the Acts of Parliament relative to America, one which seems to me strangely inconsistant, as it gives an Appeal to a 2^d Court in the Colony where the offence may be committed, when there is no such thing as a second Court, or more than one in the same Colony — I shoud be glad of your opinion in this matter tho: in the mean time shall make particular enquiries how it may be explained — I thank you for your good opinion of my Conduct and am very glad to hear M^r Jackson has at last been rewarded for his services —

¹ Sir John Cust (1718-1770) was Speaker of the House of Commons, but doubtless De Berdt refers to the Speaker of the Massachusetts House — Cushing.

We have always maintained a friendly Correspondence — I leave it to your consideration whether it might not be expedient (as the Dissenters now do here in England) to present one of the Clerks of the House of Commons ten Guineas p annum to give early intelligence when any Act may be brought in which affects America — for these slipd thro: the House without our having any notice of the matter. I am with friendly Esteem your most Obed^t & mo. h^{b1e} Servant

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON June 27 1768

TO THE HBLE. T. CUSHING

Since mine of the 18 March I am honoured with yours of the 19 Ap^l. & 11 Feb^y & think all you alledge concerning taxation for the purpose of raising a revenue exceeding just, & have delivered your Petition ² to L^d Hillsborough which he by no means thinks proper to deliver to his Majesty at present, however I thought it my duty to leave it with Him & urge the contents, who professes a greater regard for the Interest of America than I really expected. He thinks the only thing that can be done to serve you at present, is to keep the matter of Right out of Sight, & only consider the good or bad effects the present Acts will have on the Interest of G. B. & her Colonies.

There are very unreasonable prejudices prevail against America, both in the Ministry & Publk & by the Copy you sent me of L^d Shelburns Letter to Gov^r Barnard gives me reason to fear he also must have altered his sentiments with regard to American affairs, I could wish that things on your Side were carried on with a more steady & silent perseverance.

Ld Hilsborough highley approves of all your schemes of Oeconomy & thinks you judge exceedg. right to pursue them & declares he would with the greatest pleasure act for the good of America, but he says his hands are tyed by the strenuous opposition to your claim of Right

There are very warm debates in Council concerning America & the measures to be taken therewith, there is some talk of sendg another Regmt. of Foot to America which I should be glad might be overruled. To me it appears prudent, as you have so fully entered your protest with regard to your Right, to drop that dispute for the present, & I think your Rights cannot suffer thereby

¹ Capt. James Scott, commander of the brig Lydia. He afterwards married the widow of John Hancock.

² See p. 338 note, below.

Sent
pr
Scot¹

I wrote in a letter¹ to a former Assembly when the Repeal of the Stamp act was in question, that there were three parties in the House one for inforcing the Law at all events, another for a repeal, on condition, of a previous bill to assert the Right of Parliam^t over America, the third for a repeal without any Conditions, but that party had not weight to carry anything without a coalition with the other it is pretty much the same now & I apprehend extends itself to the privy Councill

Please to make my Duty acceptable to the House & assure them I have a gratefull sense of the honorable mention they make of me in their vote & am

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON June 27th 1768

To Thos CUSHING Esq^r

SIR

I read yours of 18th April & have wrote to the House by this Ship as I wou'd not be wanting in anything which might give the them satisfaction, I entirely approvd of your Oeconomy & doubt not in the end it will prove to your advantage.

pr
Lidea
Scott

The Merchants of New Y. do still import goods from England but if the Shackles under which Trade labors be not soon removed remittances will be so Slow & precarious Yt the Wheels of Trade will stop of themselves, & must be felt in the decay of our Manufacturers, — I thank you for the copy of y^r Journal² last year & have desired you to thank the House for the notice they have taken of me therein as well as for the pecuniary donation they voted me — I see in those Votes several attempts of the councills joining with the House in the Choice of an Agent, which w^d certainly go with more weight to the Ministry, then the Agent of one House only & in reality *no* regular deputation I am Sir with great Esteem & Friend^p

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON June 27th 1768

To Sam^l. ADAMS Esq^r

SIR

I have not lately been favor'd with any letter from you, we are still in high debates about American affairs, & the matter of Rights on both sides warmly contested, I, am fully of your opinion that no Man or

pr
Scott

¹ See De Berdt's letter to S. White of February 15, 1766, p. 312, above.

² See Massachusetts House Journals, December 9, 1766, p. 219.

body of Men have a right to take the Money out of an American pocket without their consent & think the farmer in his Letters¹ has very pertinently & judiciously represented the case, & doubtless Trade must suffer by these altercations, your schemes of oeconomy are exceeding right & approved of by the Ministry here, & will doubtless have a good effect, if they are carried on with a prudent perseverance & you keep clear of an ostentatious parade on which you too much bordered I am

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL DEXTER

LONDON June 27th 1768To SAM¹ DEXTER Esq^r

I duly received yours of the 1st of March, & my Lord Shelburne being now out of the American department I tho't it more material to talk over the matter with L^d Hilsborough who succeeds him, & hope I have satisfied him, with regard to your character Temper & Conduct.

The proposal of the Councill to join with the House in chusing an Agent, I am sorry was not complied with as union strengthens every society, & Lord Hilsborough intimated to me, such a choice woud be agreeable to the Ministry for he was pleas'd to say at present I was in reality no Agent at all, being only chose for a particular purpose which choice terminated with the fulfillment of the commission tho you have done me the honor since that to employ me in several important services

Pray present my Comp^{ts} to Mr. Sheaf & thank him for every instance of his regard toward me & am

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON July 6th 1768M^r RICH^d CARY²D^r SR.

Altho we wrote you by this opp^y in the way of Trade your several kind letters as well as paragraphs in those to the company demand a particular reply — I am sorry to find a spirit of contention still remains between the Gov^r. & Assembly & tho the Councill I see by the votes of the House sent me, have several times proposed joining with the House in the choice of an Agent they have as often refused, I can only go with

¹ John Dickinson's Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies.

² See p. 304 note 2, above.

pr Lidia
Scott—

the weight of Agent for the lowest House, instead of Agent for the whole Province — American Affairs seem greatly in confusion occasioned by a mistaken apprehension, that it was the clamour of the Colonies was the cause of the Repeal of the Stamp Act & think an opposition to the present laws will be as successful, whereas the Enemies of America represent it as faction & disloyalty. I waited on L^d Hilsborough with the petition from the House to the King which I left in his hand which he did not think proper to present at this juncture, he assures me a real friend to America & was desirous of serving it, but the warm contest about the Right of Taxation did at present throw upon him insuperable Difficulties, his own words were, "His hands were tied & he did not know what course to take," he commended all your schem's of Oeconomy thinks them perfectly right, but thinks the manner of your proclaiming your resolutions imprudent, & I cannot but think in that particular his Lord^{sp} is right

I cant but commend the Noble spirit of Liberty which prevails thro' the Colonies & approve of the sentiments of the Farmers letters, & realy believe some moderate people have been convincd thereby, tho' on the other hand warm spirits have been further irritated. I cou'd wish the matter of right, now it has been so nobly asserted, was kept out of sight for a time till heats are a little subsided & content ourselves with endeavoring to redress the grievances which lye on Trade to which Ld. Hilsborough dont seem aware, he says they talk of sending another Regiment of soldiers to Boston, which I think may be overuled & not executed, but it is not easy for you to conceive except you was present what a turbulent spirit prevails both in doors & out — — We have a great loss by the death of M^r Cook,¹ who never was well after the election, when he underwent a great deal of fatigue. happy people you which at present are clear of such incumbrances for further particulars I refer you to Mr. Sayres — & am with Great Esteem

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON MERCHANTS

LONDON July 29th 1768

To THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS AT BOSTON

Immediately on the receipt of yours attended with a Number of Affidavits of the late commotion at Boston, I drew up a Memorial of the case annexed several affidavits thereto, & presented it to L^d Hilsborough, who had heard the affair from the Gentleman who came over in the Ship

¹ George Cooke, Member of Parliament for Middlesex, died in June, 1768.

which brot your Letter, I said all I coud to soften my L^d by representing to him the outrage you complain'd of, which he thinks was aggravated by the Letter to the Gov^r, I have not seen

It is unhappy such a thing shou'd arive at such a critical season when American affairs are in great agitation & I fear will produce some disagreeable circumstances you may depend on my utmost endeavors to serve you & am with great Esteem

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON July 29 1768

To HBLE Thos CUSHING Esq^r

Since my last I have rece'd none from you but several interesting affairs have arose which I thot it my duty to accqt. the House altho they are of a disagreeable Nature — I have lately had a long conference with L^d Hillsborough relating to your circular letter, to the other provinces, which greatly displeases the administration some of whom say it is little better than an incentive to Rebelion but they look upon it as the sentiments of a party, only as it was rejected in full house the begining of the sessions, & taken up again at the end of it when the house was thin altho I can perceive nothing unjust or unreasonable in it, yet if some healing measures are not adopted consequences may be very serious, you may expect two regiments from New York, quarter'd upon you & my L^d mention'd another to be embark'd, & says it has been resolved in Council that Gov^r Bernard have strict orders sent him, to insist upon your revoking that letter & if refused by the House he was immediately to dissolve them, upon their next choice he was to insist on it again & if then refused he was to do the like, & as often as the case shou'd occur, my L^d assured me of his great regard for America, nay said if I did not represent it to you I should not do him justice, he wished nothing so much as a good understanding between the Colonies & their Mother Country & assured me that before the warm measures on your side taken had come to their knowledge, he had settled the repeal of these Acts with L^d North, but, the spirited opposition you had made, rendered it absolutely necessary to support the authority of Parliament which the Ministry at all events are determined to do, you may depend on my strictest attention to your affairs when ever you please to give me any fresh instructions & you think anything further necessary to be represented to that Noble Lord, who declares himself very averse to any severe measures & thinks him^s very unhappy that he has undertook the American department

when the affairs are in such a convulsion & has condescended to assure me that when ever I have anything farther to urge I shoud have free access to him — I remain with¹

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON July 29th 1768To SAM¹ ADAMS Esq^r

I receivd you by a friend² to whom I shall shew every civility in my power, my sentiments agree with yours respecting American affairs things here are going into a great perturbation, as I have particularly advised your House by the Speaker, which he will undoubtedly lay before them & to which I refer you & am

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Aug^t 26 1768To THE HNBLE T. CUSHING Esq^r.

I duly recd. yours of the 30th June from the house accompanying a long letter for L^d Hilsborough, which I yesterday delivered to him, & which his Ld^{sp} will answer very soon, to which I refer you for his particular sentiments. I was with him a full hour talking over your American affairs, which now seem to be under a necessity of being regulated by Parliam^t when they sit, it being neither in the Ministrys power nor even the King himself either to dispense with the Laws or revoke them

pr
White³
Copy pr
Packett

The whole Ministry seem united in this one point that when a Law passes the Legislative power it becomes part of the Constitution & therefore not to be dispensed with or opposed that I wish in all your applications you had left the matter of right out of the question, & only apply'd for a repeal of the Law, as prejudicial to the Colonies & Mother Country & my L^d assured me he wou'd have now his interest for a repeal & he believes he shoud have obtained it, which now with him is become a matter of doubt — his Ld^{sp} is fully sensible the mischief which will arise from a breach with the Colonies & dreads the consequences. Law, he says must either be supported or we sink into a state of anarchy which he thinks must be avoided at all events. I mention'd the measure of sending troops to America which my L^d said when about this time

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 524-526. It is printed in Massachusetts State Papers, pp. 160-161.

² Edward Church: see Writings of Samuel Adams, i. 213.

³ Probably Capt. Benjamin White.

arrived I expressd my fears that some arbitrary transactions of the Military might be in danger of inflaming the people his Ld^{sp} assured me they had strict orders to preserve the peace & act on every occasion in concert with the Civil Magistrate, & you might depend no measure woud be taken but what was entirely constitutional & executed with as much lenity as the case would admit. I have given you out of a tender regard to y^r welfare a summary of wht pass'd with that Ministry, & doubt not but y^t prudence will make a proper use of it.

Your petition to the King I reserv'd as I wrote you word, for a favorable opp^y to deliver, but the next ship bringing the petition in the public papers, I thot it necessary to have it with L^d Hillsborough, tho' not in form, & he has assured me he has shewed it to the King & shou'd do so by the Letter you sent him & of every circumstance relating to your affairs, & seems to be exceeding frank & open in his conduct & renewed his declaration that he had a hearty concern for the welfare of A & shou'd promote it by every measure in his power agreeable to the honor of the Legislature — I make dutifull Regards to the House & assure them I am deeply affected with their condition and shall do all in my power for their relief & am Your Obligd & Obedt.¹

¹ A copy of this letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 527–529. It is printed, but dated August 29, 1768, and lacking the final paragraph, in Massachusetts State Papers, pp. 160–161. So many petitions to the King were adopted that it is not always easy to distinguish between them. One was voted January 20, 1768 (Massachusetts House Journals, pp. 122, 124, app. pp. 1–3); another was voted June 30, 1768 (Massachusetts House Journals, pp. 95–96). That of January 20 caused De Berdt much trouble, and perhaps accounts for some of the dissatisfaction already noted (pp. 298–299, above). In the Massachusetts Gazette of November 3, 1768 (p. 1/2), it is stated that the "*Transactions of the Colonies having peculiarly attracted the Attention of the Public in England: the public Papers in London of the latter End of August are taken up with Accounts*" of various matters. After mentioning some of these, the writer goes on to say:

As [misprint for At] the End of these Publications is inserted the following Advertisement, which we shall print Word for Word as it is in the Gazeteer, of August 26, 1768.

WHEREAS it has been publicly reported that the Earl of Hillsborough has neglected to deliver a petition from the Assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay to his Majesty, at a time when his Lordship had not even seen the said petition, I think it my duty to inform the public that such insinuations are entirely groundless. My reasons for any delay and proceedings therewith, I have duly given the Assembly in my letters to them of the 12th and 18th of March, and 27th of June.

DENNYS DE BERDT.

De Berdt's advertisement was also printed in the Boston Post Boy, November 7, p. 2/1; Boston Evening Post, November 7, p. 2/2; Boston News Letter,

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Aug^t 26 1768To Thos. CUSHING Esq^r

I duly received yours of the 13th July — the Ministry here have a very different apprehension of your circular Letter,¹ that however the measure may be adopted by the other Colonies it will never be of any service to you here, & therefore it wou'd have been better if it had not been taken, tho I am pleased with the mild reply your house have made to L^d Hilsboroughs Letter which he has promised me to answer soon. The forces that are sent is only with an intent to preserve the peace, & act in concert with the Civil Magistrate — If all the provinces on the Continent shou'd petition the King to repeal the Acts it is not in his power to repeal or suspend any act of Parliament — You must have recourse to the Parliament itself.

It is with bodies of Men as well as with private persons when there passions are once inflamed, its difficulty to preserve them from outrage & outrage always widens the breach — The Ministry are sensible of the importance of the affair, as I have wrote in my Letter to your H — I join with you in sincere wishes that the union of the M.C. & her C.² may be preserved & all differences conducted with temper & prudence. 'tis indeed a critical season & needs wisdom from above to bring things to a comfortable issue, Yr. most humble

Copy sent by
the Thames
13 Sep.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Aug^t 26, 1768.To R. CARY Esq^r

I rec^d yours of 12th July, & at the same time a letter from L^d Hilsborough you mention which I delivered yesterdy. & indeed its couched

Copy pr
Watt³

November 10, p. 2/2; Boston Gazette, November 14, p. 2/2; Boston Chronicle, November 7-14, i. 435/3. See also Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, iii. 209 note; American Gazette, p. 289; Boston Gazette, November 21, 1768, p. 3/1.

The Boston Evening Post of November 21, 1768 (p. 4/2), contains a letter signed "The Public," addressed "To Mr. DENNYS DE BERDT, Agent for the General Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay," copied from the Public Advertiser of August 31st. This letter was written by Franklin: see Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, iii. 474, where the letter, being without date, is conjecturally assigned to "1770. September?" See also pp. 330, 331, 332, above.

¹ This was dated February 11, 1768.

² That is, the mother country and her colonies.

³ Probably Capt. Alexander Watt.

in very moderate terms which I was pleas'd to see, & my L^d has promised me to write a particular answer with his own hand which when received from his Ld^{sp} I shall immediately transmit to the House — You are intirely right in your moderate way of thinking & point out the only way redress can be obtain'd vizt. submitting to the Laws till a repeal can be obtain'd by dutifull remonstrance & unless some of your warm spirits a little subside things will certainly go to extremities, for the Ministry & I believe I may say the Nation are resolved to support the Authority of Par^t. & the matter of Right must now be out of question, & the inconvenience of the late acts to both Countries must be the motive on which they proceed & the right way of application must be by petition to Parliament as I have wrote to M^r Cushing in a private capacity — We have a Melancholy prospect before us & great wisdom is necessary to extricate us from under these difficulties — I had yesterd^y an hours conversation with L^d H. & he assured me tho' troops are sent & by this time he thinks must be arrived¹ yet they have strict orders to preserve the peace & act under the Civil Magistrate, & that no unconstitutional method shall be taken & every thing transacted with as much civility² as the nature of the thing will admit.

When all my letters come to hand, the house will see I have not been so negligent in writing as you imagine, but being a recess of Pt. nothing material coud be transacted for it is not in the power of a Minister to dispense with or repeal Laws — I don't wonder Gov^r B shoud speak slightingly of me tho' I never took any part in their disputes — You justly fear alterations in your Charter for I believe the general Court will not sit again unless they recind their Letter.³ It is surprising the Treasurers in all this time shoud not be able to get a bill of exchange the remittance woud be very acceptable. I shall send a copy of this by the Pact as you desire — & am

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Sep^r 16, 1768

Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r.

SIR

In hopes that your House will soon be permitted to sit again I write to you in your public capacity that you may inform the hon^{ble}

¹ They arrived September 28.

² Perhaps "lenity."

³ The circular letter of February 11, 1768: see Publications of this Society, viii. 95 note 1.

⁴ Probably the copyist's mistake for "Nov." There is a copy of this letter, but dated November 16, 1768, in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 546-549.

House that the petition has long since reached the Royal Ear as I have several times been assured by L^d Hilsborough and he express'd a Surprise that anybody should dare assert the Contrary, all the altercations concerning the delivery of it was occasion'd by little difficulties in official forms which did not at all enter into the merrits of the case he also makes the like objections against my Agency as being a former one, on a special Occasion & not yet reviewd or confirm'd. his Lordship has made objections of the like nature to several other Agents & seems to think the Correspondence would be best carried on with the Governors directly

The order for your Rescinding the Circular Letter meets with objections among some of your friends here & will not run so smooth as the Writer expected

The Applications for redress of Grievances are near universal, what reception they will meet with is yet in Suspence, but Certainly a Calm prudent moderate temper in supporting them will greatly conduce to their efficacy — though the ministry dont appear to be pleas'd with the universality of the petitions.

We have had a meeting of the Several Agents to consider the most effectual way of application for your relief but don't yet know which will be pursued — You may rely ever Opport^y to Serve you I shall carfully embrace.

The Riots are taken in a very strong light by the Ministry & are made use of greatly to your disadvantage tho I made the best use I could of the accounts & affidavits sent to me & believe they will be laid before our parliament and hope if your tranquility continues, good part of the Troopes will soon be remov'd

I shall continue my warmest Solicitations with y^e friends of America to remove every difficulty that intercepts the harmony & affection between Great Britain & her Colonies whose Interest I always esteemed inseperable

Tho the friends of America seem to increase, yet there is a powerfull opposition which will occasion very warm debates in the Senate & God only knows the event

I have receiv'd the two years Salary the former House allotted me of which favour I have a gratefull sense and am with the highest esteem &c

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LOND^O Nov^r: 15, 1768MR RICH^d CARY

Our D. B has rec^e y^e £600 from M^r Gray ¹ but at 60 d^s sight however he is glad it is come at all — He is very sorry to see y^r public affairs in such confusion but thinks the Convention ² was a very prudent measure tho' the Town meeting which call'd it was rash and the Resolutions so strong that some here call it Treasonable and the Case is now before Council whether he can or ought to present a petition to his Majesty coming from Such an Assembly. — he does not wonder at any ill naturd pens as he thinks he has kept a long while clear of being a party man Your former Governor Pownal warmly Interests himself in your affairs and fear he is of no Service of any side the water and perceive is far from being a Friend of his but shall act uprightly in every thing relating to the Good of the province and defy Malignity

I find the dispute about Quartering the Troops has been amicably settled which gives me pleasure — There is a very bad spirit on both sides which must subside before anything can be brought to a Happy Isue things are carryed with a very High hand by the Ministry and they seem at present resolved to Support the Gov^t. the affair will soon come before the House where you have some friends who will warmly oppose violent measures and others as strongly pursue them — every ship will bring you very Interesting accounts and you and M^r Cushing may rely on frequent advices from our D. B. we had a meeting of the agents of the Different Provinces last night in order to unite our application for the good of America to which he will strictly attend tho believe the Ministry will not be pleasd with our Conveening as Union seems disagreeable to them Our D:B desires to be thankfull that he goes thro' the continued fatigue much better than he could expect, and thinks his health recruited by the Summer — Lord H——s rescinding Order gives great Offense to some. Our D: B hopes you will soon have your Assembly sit again to whom he writs fully by this Conveyance as well to M^r. Cushing as Chairman of the Committee we remain with great esteem &c

D: B & S.³

¹ Harrison Gray, Treasurer of the Province.

² The convention was held September 22–29. For the petition to the King and Richard Jackson's opinion on it, see Massachusetts Papers, pp. 108–113.

³ De Berdt and Sayre.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

Nov: 16:

SAMUEL ADAMS Esq:

I have before me your favor of 3 Octo: giving me an account of Quar-tering the Troops of which I will make the best use in favor of the Town of Boston, to have Troops quartered in the city will certainly be a great unhappyness as it must tend to the Debauching the people However I hope if all continues quiet you will soon have good part of them removed — It was magnifyed accounts of the Riots of which the Ministry gave Credit that occasion'd their being sent I hope therefore prudence will be us'd in all your Conduct that your Enimys may gain no advantage, — which they certainly will take if they can find an opportunity — I am so crowded with your public Business and numerous applications to ye known friends of America that I have hardly time to advise you that I am — D:B

DE BERDT TO HARRISON GRAY

16 Nov^r. 1768**HARRISON GRAY Esq^r**

I received yours of the 3^d October by Capⁿ. Scott inclosing a Bill for £600 on George Haley¹ Esq^r which is accepted and I doubt not will be duly honourd it is indeed a long time since the grant was made and the Bill now a long sight but suppose you did the best you could. I am &c.

D: B.

DE BERDT TO JOHN HANCOCK

JOHN HANCOCK Esq^r

Sr. I received yours inclosing several newspapers and will make the best use I can of them; but news papers sho'd allways be given to the Capⁿ not put in the Bagg the postage being Considerable I am &c — D: B:

¹ George Hayley, at one time alderman of London, died in 1781. He married Mary Storke, widow of Samuel Storke and sister of John Wilkes. Mrs. Hayley came to Boston in 1784 and here married Patrick Jeffrey in 1786.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING¹LONDON Nov^r 18th. 1768To Tho^s. CUSHING Esq^r.

Yours I receivd of the 1st & 22 Sep^{tr}. what I said to Lord Shelbourne was in order that your House might have an answer to their Letter from *him* which I tho't woud be more agreeable than from the New Secretary L^d H. The Ministry have very different apprehensions of the Riot in March last — by the acc^t. they have had they look upon it as opposing authority itself. however it is not the only fact that is represented to them by different persons in a different light — I laid the case with the affidavids before the Secretary who talks of bringing them into Parliament — L^d Hilsborough assures me as I have wrote you before, that instead of the Military power controuling the Civil, they shoud act under their direction, however I hope now they are quietly landed & probably quarter'd as there will be no reason for them they will soon be removed which will give me great satisfaction — Your Town Meeting was certainly disorderly & in some respects culpable, but the Convention was well meant & I believe had very happy effects

I think you will soon have your Assembly restored, which will be a healing measure — I am making my utmost efforts with the friends of America to serve you & the last time I met a number of them I have the satisfaction to assure you that they inform me the House was coming about in favor of America very fast tho' the House was at first greatly alarm'd by His Majesties Speech

There has been strange reports concerning your former petition to the King, which I wrote you long ago was delivered to L^d Hilsborough but he never sent any message to me about it but as I have before inform'd you it came to hand in the time of our Election when all the Kingdom was in confusion (& on my waiting on the several Gentlemen to whom your House wrote they were out of Town) You wil judge very right that my attention to the welfare of your House woud not admit of my neglecting any opp^y to serve them & have ever done it with Zeal & Affectⁿ My L^d Hilsborough has more than once or twice assured me the King has seen Your Petition & the deficiency in official forms did not in the least retard it which will with the rest of the Colonies petition be brought before our Parliament — I see the justness of all your reasonings & so

¹ This letter was printed in part in the supplement to the Boston Gazette of January 23, 1769, p. 1/2.

does several of your Friends in the House & it is apprehended either Your Gov^r or L^d Hilsb^h having been guilty of some mistakes which I hope will be soon set in a true light — I am &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Novr. 19th 1768To Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r }
Chairman }

SIR I receiv'd yours as Chairman of the late Convention covering a Petition from them to His Majesty which you desir'd might be deliverd to him in person which is not the way of any Petitions in business coming to His Majesty, I was so diffident of my own Judgment that I not only ask'd the opinion of several friends of America, but took the advice of Council, all whom advise me to deliver it to the Secretary of State as the most effectual method to have it attended to, on which I have attended L^d Hilsborough several times and to day I had his resolution, that he would neither accept it nor reject it untill he had consulted the Cabinet and in a few days will give me his Answer — was it deliver'd to his Majesty in person it never more could be call'd for, but being deliver'd to the Secretary, it is liable to be call'd for at any time by the House — his Lordship deems the Convention an illegal Assembly and by the tacking it with the Town-meeting esteems it ever Treasonable — — When I was wth L^d Hilsboro^h last week your former Gov^r Pownal was present & urged my delivering it in person so vehemently and I may say indecently that made me resolve not to trust my own Judgment as I hinted before but to take a Council's opinion, he seem'd very warm and officious, whether he is a real friend to America or no is best known with you — — I really have taken a great deal of pains to traverse this affair, but hope as it is known to all the world and acknowledged by L^d Hilsborough that the Petition from the House has long since reach'd the Royal Ear — this will be of less importance, but I shall take every step in my power that it may be presented to His Majesty — but thot it very Strange to day when his Lordship inform'd me that he had seen the Convention petition in *print*¹ before I offer'd it to him which was the day after I receiv'd

¹ In a letter to Sayre dated February 20, 1769, Cushing says: "Mr. De Berdt writes the 19th Nov. that his Lordship informed him that he had seen this Petition in Print before he offered it. His Lordship must be under a mistake if he means that he saw it in any of our public Prints because I am sure it never has been printed on this side the Water, what ever it may have been on your side" (Massachusetts Papers, p. 119). An examination of Boston papers confirms Cushing's statement.

it, from hence you may see the inconvenience in imediately putting every thing into print — — All the Circumstances of the State of the Colonies will be laid before the parliament and I am not without hopes of your obtaining relief for which I shall be glad to contribute to the utmost of my ability

As to the Convention itself it was certainly a prudent measure and had a salutary effect and you judg'd exceeding right to disclaim all authoritative & Governmental Acts which I have strongly urg'd in your favour and as you observe if cool reason prevail'd and there was a mutual good understanding between the Mother Country & her Colonies, harmony & Affection might be restor'd to the advantage of both which is the hearty desire of y^r most obed^t hum^e Sert.¹

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Octo^r 5th 1768

THO^s CUSHING Esq^r

(omitted in due place)

SIR

I received yours in your private & friendly Capacity and write to you in the same Capacity, as there is now no House Subsisting and you will inform me when I must alter my Style or to whom to write in a publick Character — Your sentiments are exceeding just and entirely agreeable to my own & I think the only method you have imediately to take is to percevere in your scheme of oeconomy with silence & steadiness intill the Enemies of America *feel* their error and alter their Conduct

It appears to me that the scheme is to provoke the Common people to some acts of violence which may be turn'd to your disadvantage in which I hope they will be disappointed and if the Officers commit any unprovok'd outrage you may find redress in our Courts in England, when they return and defend your rights in Westminster Hall — in the mean time you & the whole Continent are perfectly right to petition for Redress — — The whole of your affair will be laid before the next Session of our Parliament against which time you may prepare addresses to the House itself unless the dissolution of your House throws an insuperable difficulty in the way — that from Virginia is already arriv'd, to be deliver'd in proper time is yet a *Secret* but I have seen a Copy and is ex-

¹ A copy of this letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, xx. 530-533.

ceedingly loyal and spirited — Petitions from several other Colonies will be ready at the same time — I have also receivd your Commissioners instructions¹ which are so extensive as to give room for great abuses and unlimited number of new Officers. I shall impatiently wait for frequent advices from you how things go on, that I may set them in a true light here tho I think the friends of America increase upon the measures that have been pursu'd and I shall make your letter publick that the insulting conduct of the military men may appear to the whole nation, & am &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

Dec^r 7, 1768

THO^s CUSHING

SIR

I wrote to you 18 & 19 of Nov. to which please to be refferd since which I received yours of 29 October covering your Councils adress to Gen^l. Gage w^h his answer in print which I Imediatly sent up to Lord Hilsborough for fear he should see it in print before I could put it into his hands — — Yesterday I had that Lords final answer to your Convention petition that he would not receive it coming from an unlawfull assembly, in which refusal he says he had concurrence of the whole Administration, the papers relating to America are to be laid before the house to day and are to be considered on Friday I shall make the best use I can of your Convention petition as it is couched in very decent Terms and hope by some Friend to get it before the House. I observe what you write in respect to the Revenue and the Expence that attends the Collecting of it and was always of opinion that the Neat proceeds wod be a very puny sum which I have often urged to the promoters of Taxation — The agents of America frequently meet to consult the properest measures for the Relief of the Colonies — Lord Hilsborough declared yesterday he was gainst severe measures but that the dignity of the Administration must be preserved I would advise by all means to keep things as quiet as possible while you pursue your scheems of oeconomy and am very glad a Gentleman of Gen^l Gages temper & Candour is with you on the spot, to be witness of your Temper & Conduct, who doubtless will write accounts home more favorable than have been

¹ "A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston," dated August 18, 1768, encloses "one of the Commissioners Commissions," and mentions the receipt of a copy of Sayre's "Englishman deceived." See the American Gazette, p. 127, where also are printed (pp. 112-120) the Commissioners' instructions.

already transmitted and be a means of releving of you of many of your dificulties, and of restoring a settled tranquility which will afford great satisfaction to &c

DENNY DE BERDT.¹

P.S. This moment I reced yours of 28 October and am fully senseable of the dificulty's you lay under and wish them removed I did when Lord Hilsborough mentiond sending Troops express my fears that they would rather be a means of breaking the peace than preserving it however it is a measure the ministry adopted and not to be overruld by any Interest I think the people have done very prudent in leaving of the use of Tea, and every other measure of oeconomy for the Ministry here must be made to feel the inconveniency before they will be reasoned into it & by General Gages arrival with you I hope things will be made more easy & by his Just representations of your Temper & Conduct home the Ministry will view you in a better light & ease your Burthin you will find some part of your letters answered by the forgoing and as you yourselves have been grosly misrepresented here it is no wonder I have been misrepresented to you, and if I was less zealous in your service I might escape more reflections, and have more esteem with the Ministry, but a sower of sedition among brethren the Lord hates I wish you could have sent me a Copy of the Councils petition to the King that I might have made some use of it among your Friends — I am &c

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

RIC^d CAREY ESQ^r.

I duly received yours of 26 October, and am very sensible of the dificulties you lye under for want of a General Court when such a number of Troops are quartered upon you & am fully convinced there is no occasion for them but the measures of the present ministry are attended w^h too much violence, and the information they have received from your quarter are very partial but as you observe your strength is to stand still you have some friends in both houses which will do their utmost to serve you & your submitting to the Lawes till your burthin can be removed will be greatly in your favor — — I never published any petion that that came to my hand I have fully informed the House of my delivering it — I am oblig'd to the public for their regard to me and I should have more weight with the Ministry if I less Zealous in serving the Colony

¹ This is not an autograph signature.

I think your leaving of drinking Tea is very prudent and every other method of oeconomy you can pursue I am gld to hear you give such a discription of G¹ Gage and all about him & hope he will write such favorable accounts home as will be greatly to your advantage for your conduct has certainly been very grosly misrepresented which has had a bad influence on the ministry — the American papers today are to be delivered to both houses and to be considered on Friday after which I shall take the first opportunity to give you a more parlar acct.

My Lord Hilsborough has absolutely refused receiving the convenion petion as it comes from an Ilegal assembly If Gov^r Barnard brings over the same Temper he has discovered w^h you his arrival can be of no avail

The Councils adress to Gen^l Gage is wrote w^h great moderation & Temper & I have sent it to Lord Hilsborough to come with the rest of the papers before the House today — There is a Talk out of Doors of a Change in the Ministry but I can learn nothing certain I understood Mr. Hollowell ¹ has made an Affidafidt of the nit in Boston very different from the 12 affidavits ² sent to me, and gains Credit among some of your friends and while the Ministry receive their Intelligance either from Revenue or Milatry officers they are in great danger of being misled

The agents of the several Colonies meet frequently to confer together that their applicaion may be more uniform & weighty — Six of us waited yesterday on my Lord in a Body & were received with great politness & asured he was for gentle methods for settling the dispute between us & the Colonies but the Dignity of authority must be preserved & if you on your side preserved tranquility all wod Issue well — &c

DE BERDT TO CUSHING

LONDON Jan^y 2^d 1769

To Thos. CUSHING Esq^r. —

Since my last The Colonies petitions & Letters have been laid before the House of Lords & several hash resolves been taken by them arising ^{pr} Packett chiefly from Gov^r. Bernards representation of things, which has been too severe. a few Lords spoke in your favor among which were the Dukes of Richmond & L^d Shelbourne, the former left it with the House, whether

¹ The deposition, dated June 11, 1768, of "Benjn. Hallowell the younger, Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs at Boston," is printed in Massachusetts Papers, p. 74. Hancock's sloop Liberty was seized June 10, 1768.

² These affidavits, dated June 16 and 17, 1768, are printed in the American Gazette, pp. 101-112. Cf. Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 255, 257.

it was reasonable to censure a People unheard, & evidences arising from one side the question only.

I hope the resolves will be revised & in some respects altered by the Commons, L^d Shelburne said he had his sentiments in relation to America, & the charge which had been laid before them from thence, but he shoud reserve till an another opportunity when the affairs of America wou'd come on in a more important Light. my Son or M^r Sayre, or both constantly attended the House of Lords at reading the papers, in order that we might have an exact account of what was contained in them amongst the resolves, there was one to address his Majesty to request he woud send for the ring leaders of the petition, (as a Noble Lord was pleas'd to call it) to answer for their conduct, and be tried by an old Statute of Henry 8th. — which I think necessary to hint to you the whole case lies now before the House of Commons & as they are adjourn'd for the holidays it will not be proceeded upon till they sit again which will be in about 14 days, tho' I think affairs are so interesting it is necessary to write you by every packet — I was on Saturdy. with L^d Rockingham, who is your steady friend, where I also met with M^r Dodswel¹ who is likewise much in your favor, & represented to them in the strongest manner I was able, the difficulties you are under he on my departure gave me the strongest assurances of his regard to America, & hoped things woud be so settled, that we shoud both live to see the affection between England & her American Colonies established on a lasting foundation. I waited on several others of your friends who are at present out of Town for the Holidays but on their return shall make my utmost efforts to serve you

Notwithstanding this apparent severity, L^d Hilsborough assures me there is no design to hurt the Colonies but all your troubles arise from a faction which ought to be punished, I took the Liberty to assure that Minister, he was entirely mistaken & whatever he might now think he might depend upon it the issue would demonstrate that the *whole Continent*, were disatisfied — You will easily perceive under the present circumstances of your affairs it is in vain to endeavour to have your Assembly call'd before your annual choice in April, but I hope the Affidavits which the Select Men² of Boston have sent me of the behavior of the Military, will be of service to get the troops removed, which I shall not fail to urge. In the repeal of the Stamp Act it was a very different application from the present, in the former the whole Ministry were on our

¹ William Dowdeswell (1721–1775), Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² See p. 352 note, below.

side but now it is the reverse when ever these Acts are repeal'd, the question of right must be kept out of sight which has been sufficiently arguments on both sides & the repeal must be on the foot of inexpediency which I wish may take place this Sessions, however I woud advise you to persevere in your pacific temper & to overcome evil with good, which will greatly facilitate the repeal, which on all hands is agreed to be reasonable, L^d Hilsborough himself, entirely disapproving of every one of them

It gives me a singular satisfaction that I can assure the Ministry, in all the pretended Riots, there was not the least opposition to the new taxes, nor to the Commissioners in levying them

The Select men have also sent a copy of the affidavit to Gov^r Pownal how far he is a friend to America you can judge better than I can here but apprehend he is pretty much under the influence of L^d Hilsborough — his brother¹ being first secretary to that Noble Man

As my Letters come to hand you will find I have not been negligent in giving you intelligence, tho' it has not been of so agreeable a nature as I cou'd wish you may be assur'd I am

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON SELECTMEN

LONDON Jan^y 2^d 1769.

To THE SELECT MEN, AT BOSTON —

GENT^M —

I received your letter of 12 No^v. with sundry Affidavits relating to the misbehavior of the Military quartered among you which I immediately carried to L^d Hilsborough as it belong'd to his department when he told me he had seen them a few hours before from Gov^r. Pownal, who I apprehend is under the influence of that Noble Man, & what use he makes of them will be under his direction, which I heartily wish may prove to your advantage. I am fully sensible of your loyal disposition but believe you have been greatly traduced, & the state you are now in is very deplorable, I feel indeed I feel for you I will make the best use I can of the Affidavits for your relief, I have put them into the hands of a Noble Man² who is your invariable friend, several others being out of Town for the Holidays I shall at their return endeavor to engage them also in your favor, — it is easy to perceive, that when the disturbances with you have been mention'd they have always been aggravated,

pr
Packett

¹ John Pownall.

² Lord Shelburne. See p. 353, below.

but when the conduct of the Officers & now of the Military have been represented, they are always greatly diminishd where the partiality lies I will not determine but this I am satisfied, you, are grossly misrepresented however time will bring truth to Light, & I hope your persevering in cool & moderate measures will prove your Enemies to be Lyars & demonstrate that the stay of the Troops with you is needless which I shall not fail to urge

I am on all occasions
To Joshua Henshaw, Mecht. in Boston.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Jan^y 3^d 1769M^r RICH^d CARY

According to your desire I shall continue writing to you by every packt. during the present fluctuating state of affairs. I received by the last ship a letter from the Select Men, with Affidavits¹ of the misbehavior of the Military, which I directly carried to L^d Hillsborough who made light of the information & said he suppos'd the Officers wanted a Negro Drummer or something of that sort which might occasion the report, & further that he cou'd not lay them before his Maj. in an official way, but had seen a copy of the same Affidavit sent by the Select Men to the late Gov^r Pownal, who talks of laying them before Parliament. I plainly see he is courting popularity with you, how far he deserves it you are best judges, it is my private opinion that he keeps in favor with the Ministry, in hopes by & by to obtain the Governt. when Gov^r Bernard has finish'd the Ministerial schemes & then resigns

American papers have been before the House of Lords by which it appears to that House, you are very culpable but as they have heard but one side of the question I am in hopes some more moderate sentiments may be adopted, my Son & M^r Sayre attended the House every day during the reading of the papers, after which the Lords came to

¹ On October 31, 1768, certain persons entered a complaint with the selectmen against Capt. John Wilson of the 59th Regiment "for practising on their Negro Servants to induce them immediately to enter into a dangerous conspiracy against their Masters, promising them their freedom as a reward — whereupon M^r. Justice Ruddock was desired by the Selectmen to take the several Affidavits relative to the above mentioned complaint" (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xx. 313, 314). An account of the affair was printed in the Boston Gazette of November 7, 1768, p. 3/2.

pr
Packett

some resolves not favorable to America but those particulars Mr Sayre himself will give you as he intends writing by this pack^t

It is report'd here that Colonel Dalrymple has wrote a letter which is much in your favor as it has not yet appeared I cannot tell the contents, the papers are now before the House of Commons, who do not sit till the 19th. hope then things will take a more favorable turn as you have many friends there —

In order to lose no time with the Select Mens affidavits, I sent them to Lord Shelburne (who is at his seat in Wiltshire) by a friendly hand, & I hope they will be of singular service to you, that Noble Man being your steady friend yet when he was in Administration he was sometimes oblig'd to swim with the stream, I waited on many more of your friends in both Houses but they were all at their Country Seats for the Holidays at their return shall again wait on them & urge your interests, I wou'd by all means advise you to preserve steadily in your schem's of Oeconomy, & carefully watch against anything that is of a tumultuous nature, which wou'd render the repeal more difficult, which will take place but whether this Session, is uncertain, & I am only in pain lest warm spirits tired out with delays shoud be guilty of some imprudencys, which will certainly be magnif'd here, & urged greatly to your prejudice

I am fully convinced the Commissioners need not have retired to the Castle, nor need the Troops been quarter'd in the Town while the Barracks were empty, but such was their orders, & therefore they who gave such orders ought to bear the blame.

I have not yet seen the Petition from the Council to the King which went thro' Gov^r Bernards hands directly to L^d Hilsborough I wish I had a copy of it, as the contents remain still a secret

The Philad^a. Merchants have sent a remonstrance¹ to the Merchts^s. in London (tho' they yet continue to import goods) requesting they woud interpose in their favor & a Committee has been chosen to take the Memorial into consideration, but nothing of importance has yet been done nor can be during the recess of Parlat^t.

The Counties of Newcastle Sussex & Kent have by a vote of their Assembly appointed me their Agent² & sent me their Petition to the King for their relief in which they mention their concern at the suspension of

¹ This is printed in the American Gazette, pp. 218-225.

² The Boston Chronicle of November 7-14, 1768, contains this notice: "Philadelphia, Nov. 3. We are informed that the assembly of the three Lower counties of this province, have appointed Dennys de Berdt, Esq; their agent, in England, and have harmonized with their sister colonies, in petitioning the King, Lord and Commons for redress of the grievous burdens laid on America" (i. 434/1).

the Assembly of New York, the acct. of the Dissolution of your Assembly I apprehend by their taking no notice of it was not come to their hand, so now I think the whole line of Provinces have united in their application for relief

DE BERDT TO THE DELAWARE COMMITTEE

LONDON Jan^y, 9th, 1769.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER COUNTIES

I received y^{rs} of 27th Oct^r accompanying a Petition ¹ to his Majesty which I next day deliver'd to Lord Hilsboroughs own hands to deliver to the King, the whole line of colonies have now petitions of the like nature lying before his Majesty which have been before the House of Lords & are now before the Commons

The several Agents have had various meetings in order to consult together for the good of the whole, which I have & shall constantly attend, as the Province of the Massachusetts to which I am also Agent being under peculiar difficulties & hardships demand peculiar attention

The matter of Right has been strenuously asserted on both sides the Water, & all that can be said on the subject exhausted & they will continue to be of different opinions, but with regard to the not exercising of that suppos'd right, & its inexpediency, I hope there will be numbers sufficient to maintain that opinion & procure a repeal, & I believe the sense of the Colonies are so well known that if this Act be repeal'd no future ministry will attempt another taxation Bill, these duties are allowed on all sides to be very injudicious & anticommercial & on that account ought to be repeal'd but whether that repeal will be this Session is uncertain, & your schemes of Oeconomy in the interim will certainly be of use to you

The Merchants of Phila^a. have sent a Memorial to the Merchants in London desiring their application to add weight to yours, of which I am clearly of opinion to make a trial but Mr^r Barclay ² is very cool, that it is yet uncertain what will be done, there being at present a short recess of Parliament.

My own sentiments are entirely with you & allways was of that way of thinking, for that which is in its own nature oppressive, cannot by any Law be made otherwise, & you may depend on my utmost endeavours

¹ This petition is printed in the American Gazette, pp. 240-243. De Berdt's letters to the Delaware Committee are of particular value, as so little has been preserved relating to the history of Delaware at that period.

² Probably David Barclay.

pr
Capt
Faulkner

to obtain relief for the Colonies for I think them greatly injured, & you can much better provide for the charge of Govern^{nt} among yourselves than by any Law from us & increasing the number of civil officers will be very prejudicial to your liberties & therefore ought to be carefully avoided, but at present I believe it will be most prudent to keep the matter of Right out of sight & only urge the repeal on the footing of inexpediency, upon which the Agents for all the Provinces will proceed.

I hope as you have strenuously asserted your rights & therein behaved like true Englishmen, you will endeavour to keep clear of disturbances & Riots which will be turn'd to your disadvantage before a repeal can be obtain'd

I thank your House for the honor they have done me & the confidence they place in me, & you may rest assured that the true interest of America lies near the heart of

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Feb^y 1st, 1769

To Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r.

I wrote you the 2^d Jan^y by the Pack^t. a particular account of the State of American affairs with us since which there has been various proceedings in the House of Commons relating to the Resolves of the House of Lords, which were thoroughly canvas'd by a Committee of the whole House & in the conclusion were pass'd with very small alterations & I here enclose you the printed votes for your certain information, your Friends exerted themselves in your favor with a torrent of eloquence & substantial reasoning which nothing but numbers cou'd overcome, however when the report is made to the House it will be again argued by your Friends with a persevering steadfastness, altho' tis believed the Ministry do not intend to put them into execution, the chief unhappiness arises from the Ministry giving entire credit to everything wrote by Gov^r. Bernard, which no reasoning can stand against altho we have all the best speakers in the House on our side the question, who are true friends to Liberty.

The Merchants of Philad^a. have sent a Memorial to the Merchants of London to join their weight in application for a Repeal & at a meeting of that body, a Committee of 7 was appointed of which I was one to conduct that affair, we first waited on Lord Hilsborough who was very peremptory in his opinion that the Ministry woud not consent to a repeal this Session, which we urg'd by an hours conversation — however not content to abide by his opinion, I undertook to consult our friends in

the opposition if they tho't such an application expedient, and likely to be successful, I applied in the first place to M^r. Burke who wou'd not determine such an important affair by his single opinion but was so obliging as to take on himself the trouble of calling together & meeting a number of Friends & taking their Judgment in the case, who were almost unanimous in their opinion that the present was not a favorable opportunity for a Petition to Parliament (the rough draft of which I drew up & left with M^r Burke) as our Friends fearing this had not weight enough to carry it thro' & shou'd it be unsuccessful it would be prejudicial to the cause, & in pursuance to their advice we still wait for a more favorable moment — — I sensibly feel the difficulties you are under, & have my fears that they will be still increased by the present measures for I wou'd by no means flatter you, into a presumptuous security nor woud I create any needless fears, but aim at giving you the most impartial view of things & woud advise you to the most cautious circumspection as I am persuaded you have enemies who watch for your halting, & woud gladly take advantage of any imprudence, & I am fully convinced of the difficulty & oppression you are under, & am sensible how difficult it is to prevent Mens passions from being kindled into a flame upon such occasions, & when once kindled how hard to extinguish

My continual solicitude on your behalf will make me watch every opportunity to obtain relief

I am much concern'd to see that Philad^a has not conform'd themselves to your resolution, but taking their spring assortment of goods but when they are received I believe they will take no more

We are here not without our difficulties which continue to accumulate which we hope before 'tis long will issue in the removal of those who caus'd them

As I have no House to address my letters to I commit this & my last to you to lay before them when they meet, with my dutifull regards, & assurances of my Zeal for their interest — & am¹

P.S. to M^r Cushing —

I refer you to M^r Cary for a Pamphlet² sent him for you, which contains exactly my sentiments of America, & you will find them nobly defended. The votes which intended to send you will not be out till after this ship sails

¹ This letter was printed in part in the Boston Gazette of April 10, 1769, p. 3/1, but dated February 5th.

² It is impossible to identify this pamphlet, but possibly it was Sayre's "Englishman deceived."

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Feb^y 2^d. 1769

Mr R CARY —

Agreeable to your desire I wrote you by the last Packet which did not sail from Falmouth 'till the 21st & herewith send you a copy in hopes it may be with you before the original, since which American affairs have been further canvas'd before the House of Commons & they have confirm'd the resolutions taken by the House of Lords with very little alteration, altho' the debate lasted 'till 4 oC in the Morng — & our friends out did themselves in your defence, having all the best Speakers & strongest reasoners in your favor, but at last were over born by Ministerial numbers however our friends are resolv'd to debate it again when the proceedings are reported to the House which will be in a few days. I shall write you further by the next Ship as I have to day wrote fully to Mr Cushing for him to lay before the House at their next meeting in which I have given more amply account of affairs with us & wish I cou'd give you a more favorable representation but the Ministry declare against a repeal this Session & shoud it be delay'd I am much afraid the passions of Men will be so irritated as to make them fall into indiscretions, which must be very prejudicial to their interest, & shoud any opposition to Gov^{mt} as might be construed into an act of Rebellion which might forfeit their Estates, you have Enemies enough who woud be glad to purchase them which is a consideration worth your attention & I hope will be a little curb on the passions of Men, which are too easy to be inflam'd under oppression & woud weak the hands of your friends in obtaining relief

You woud have been agreeably surprised, with the force of reasoning & eloquence your friends made use of on the occasion I here send you a pamphlet for Mr Cushing which when you have read you will please to deliver to him & it exactly contains my sentiments & gives me an agreeable surprise to see so much said on a subject which has been already exhausted on both sides the water

The Quakers (chiefly) in Philad^a have imported their Spring goods which sail this week, & then I apprehend they will come into the resolutions of N Y &c. The Committee of Merchants which were chosen to manage the application first waited on L^d Hils^h — who gave us no encouragement to hope for a repeal this Session altho we urged it by an hour or two's conversation however I was not satisfied with his bare

¹ Capt. Nathaniel Byfield Lyde.

opinion resolved to take the opinion of our friends in the opposition from whom alone we cou'd depend for support, accordingly I waited on Mr Burke with a rough draft of a Petition I had drawn for the purpose, but he was kind enough to appoint & meet a number of our friends to consider of the affair who after debating it fully among themselves agreed it wou'd not be prudent to Petion at this juncture as they were of opinion they cou'd not carry it thro' the House & if it was not carried it woud only expose their weakness — The Ministry carrying everything with a high hand gives a general disgust — which we hope will terminate in our favor — You cannot conceive the warmth of the contending parties except you was here to see it, however the Whigs, or friends to Liberty are also friends to America & woud be glad to treat you as bretheren & are quite dissatisfied with Ministerial measures which we hope will in time operate kindly which critical season when it arises you may be assured I shall carefully improve

Several of your old friends are gone into Ministerial measures particularly L^d Cambden¹ who now sees clearly the right of taxing America, Gen^l. Conway is grown old & indifferent, L^d Chatham now lies quite aside, & Mr Onslow, son of the late great commoner, is in the treasury, & the Duke of Grafton at the head of it, however some are still firm in their noble sentiments of Liberty, as Sir G. Saville² Colⁿ Barry³ Mr Burke Mr Dodswel Mr Montague⁴ &c &c of the House of Lords Duke of Richmond L^d Shelburne L^d Dartmouth remarkably zealous in the cause of liberty, all of whom I have waited on with a great deal of pleasure — There are now several ships going off weekly in nothing but balast for want of goods, by which you may depend on hearing from Dr Sir

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL DEXTER

LONDON Feb^y 2^d, 1769SAM^l. DEXTER ESQ^r.

I received yours expressing your fears that some ill use might be made of your letters being shewn to L^d Shelburne but you may be entirely easy as he is a steady friend to America your letters were so full of good sense & moderation that no ill use can be made of them neither do I

¹ Charles Pratt (1714–1794), first Baron Camden and first Earl Camden.² Sir George Savile (1726–1784).³ Isaac Barré (1726–1802).⁴ Probably Frederick Montagu (1733–1800).

remember any one of them being out of my own hand, as I wou'd be exceeding cautious not to do you the least prejudice.

I wish I cou'd give you a better account of American affairs but a repeal of the obnoxious laws is still in suspence & it is a question if they will be repeal'd this Session if they shoud not it behooves all that love the Country of America to watch against every measure that will expose them to the resentment of their Enemies, which are numerous — nevertheless you have some steady friends in both Houses which exert themselves to the utmost to procure you relief & I am always pleas'd with your letters & by a continuation of your friendly correspondence & will do every thing on my part to support it & am with very great esteem —
D^r S^r

DE BERDT TO THE DELAWARE COMMITTEE

LONDON Feb^y 2^d 1769

To THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER COUNTIES

I wrote you by Faulkner of the receipt of your Petition to his Majesty acquainting you I had delivered it according to your desire, but there has been nothing done since towards a repeal.

At the Meeting of Merchants a Committee of 7 were chosen to conduct an application for a repeal which I was one & took upon me to take the opinion of our friends in the House if they tho't they had strength to carry it thro', the Committee indeed before waited on L^d Hilsborough who gave us no encouragement that the Acts woud be repeal'd this Session altho we urg'd it by an hours conversation I had no better success with our friends altho' they had a respectable meeting of them & concluded this was not the proper time to petition for a Repeal however we keep the thing in sight to take the most favorable opportunity to lay it before the House, who at present have their hands full of several troublesome affairs, & the conduct of the Ministry in general are greatly disapproved, which we hope ere long will turn out in our favor

I must repeat my advice that you woud use your influence & keep the People from any illegal Acts which your Enemies will make use of greatly to your prejudice, & render it more difficult for your friends to serve you, which you may depend I shall do my utmost endeavor to accomplish

Boston at present bears the chief burthen which is very undeserv'd, for I believe them to be a very loyal & peaceable people, real lovers of their Mother Country, & who deserve better treatment, the House of Lords have come to some very harsh resolutions to which the Commons have assented, notwithstanding they were vigorously oppos'd by such a

torrent of eloquence & good sense, as nothing but numbers cou'd overcome, but it is tho't the Resolutions will never be put into execution, when anything new occurs you may depend on hearing from Your

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDⁿ. Feb^y 11; 1769

THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r

I here inclose you y^e votes mention'd in my last whereby you will see the Commons have concur'd wth y^e Lords in their Resolutions. I was in hopes they would have been new modeled in passing thro' the Commons but *Numbers* still prevail. However y^e are not without warm & stedy friends in both Houses who are greatly griev'd at y^e hardships you are under — I waited yesterday on L^d Shelburn who is deeply impressed under a sense of your difficulties and says if he had been still in y^e Ministry he should have compos'd all your differences without any millitary force for when he was in y^e administration your Collony paid him the most respect & obliging conduct of any of y^e Colonies and will endeav^r to serve you in every particular wherein he thinks it just to do it — — The ministry seems confus'd and perplex'd & are intoxicated with very high notions of power which gives very great uneasiness here as well as the affairs of America — Yesterday y^e Livery of London meet to give instructions¹ to their Representatives which were of a very spirited nature in which they recommended their Care to encourage & promote Our trade to all the British Colonies the whole of which instructions must be displeasing to y^e Ministry — and now London has begun it is more than probable this method of instruction will run throughout y^e Greatest part of y^e Kingdom and I hope will have a good effect or least that it will Shew the general temper of the people to cultivate a good understandg. & Trade with America — I was also since my last with Col: Barry who is a hearty Zealous friend for the American Colonies & to y^e Massachusetts in particular He is very sensible of y^e Difficulties you are under & is ready at all times to exert himself in y^r favour —

I thot it necessary to write by every Ship as you must be extreamly anxious to know how things go on this side the water and shall send a Copy of this by another Ship that sails on monday and am with y^e greatest esteem &c.²

¹ The instructions are printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1769, xxxix. 73–75, 107. One of the Members of Parliament for London was Barlow Trecothick: cf. Notes and Queries, Eleventh Series, iii. 11, 330.

² There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 555–556. It is printed, but with some omissions, in Massachusetts State Papers, p. 194.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LOND. Feb: 11, 1769

M^R R^D CARY

This Ship being just going I have only time to inclose you todays paper containing a very extraordinary Letter which I hope will open the eyes of the publick & give American affairs a favourable turn — I have wrote more particulary to Mr. Cushing by this Ship to whom I refer you & am &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON February 13th 1769

M^R CUSHING

I wrote to you in your Publick Capacity the 11 Inst^t. & sent copy to day inclosing the resolves of the House so far as they are already printed, & have only to add, that no Efforts of your friends on this side the Water will be wanting to procure you relief, & must recommend Temper & moderation to you in all your proceedings, least your Enemies should take some further advantage of your warm Zeal for Liberty.

I write this to you in a private Capacity under cover to M^r Cary, as we are timorous of our Lrs. being open'd, & here inclose you a News Paper containing a Lr of a very extraidony nature, which I hope will open the eys of some who were not sensible of such a Scheme, for my part I always suspected it, nay my suspicions went further, that in Case your Enemies could provoke you to any Act of Treason or Rebellion they would take that opportunity to seize your Lands & thereby become proprietors of *your* Lands in America — In the same Paper you have the Instructions of the Livery of London to their Members by which you may plainly see the People are far from being satisfied wth. the present Administration, which I hope will be an event favorable to your Interest, burthens must be dispensed with untill we can obtain a Legal relief, which we are now in hopes of by the present Spirit that prevails thro the Nation.

On Wednesday the Committee of Merchants meet to Consider of a Petition for a repeal of these Noxious Laws, & hope they will be unanimous & successfull, & it is said there was Six Thousand Livery Men present, when the Instructions to their Members were approved of, from which you will undoubtedly observe the disposition of the People towards the relief of America.

I shall advise you by every opportunity of every Occurrence in your American Affairs & am with great regard &rs, &c.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON February 13, 1769

M^r RICH^d CARYD^r. SIR

I wrote you by the Last Vessell a few hasty Lines, covering a News paper with also a very extraordinary Nature which I hope will convince the People of England of that regular Scheme of oppression which has been formed of which I was always apprehensive, by which you will see the general dissatisfaction With the Ministry who has shew'd such an unseasonable resentment against you, which I hope will terminate in y^r favour.

I here inclose you a Lr for M^r Cushing which please to deliver to him, as I thought the Safest Convayance was the directing to you, as we have reason to think our Lrs. are opened — As I have already wrote you so largely this Month, I have only to add that I am

Your obedient

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Feb^y 18th 1769THO^s. CUSHING Esq^r —

I here inclose you the Votes of the House of Commons containing their address to his Majesty & a Copy of his Majesties answer underneath which breaths the same temper which has run thro' this Session, however the most aggravated part it is declared is not intended to be executed & mere words which if not executed will remain a dead Letter — but it shews the temper of the Ministry & in faithfulness I dare not conceal from you any part of their conduct — I & several of your friends have made fresh application both to the Ministry & others to support a petition from the Merchants in your favor, but there is an obstinacy in the Administration not at present to be overcome, supported by them under the specious name of firmness, & I cannot see any present prospect of a Repeal

There is to be a fresh Mutiny bill this Year, & we as Agents propose to attend L^d Barrington¹ in a body to prevent if possible any clause in it which may be disagreeable to America You may depend on my embracing every opportunity of serving the Colony, & wish you all that Magnanimity prudence & wisdom which the delicacy of your situation

¹ William Wildman Barrington (1717-1793), second Viscount Barrington.

requires, for the Resolutions of N. Y. are offensive to the Ministry, tho' excused by their Friends sensible of the oppression you are under — & indeed we are here all over the Kingdom in great confusion, for the ferment is not confin'd to London — What ever important Event arrives you may depend on hearing — from Your faithf. &c.¹

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Feb^y 25th, 1769THO^s. CUSHING Esq^r.

I received yours of 19th Jan^y & am exceeding glad to find the people of Boston have acted with so much prudence & temper towards the Troops, which will prove to all the World the sending them there was very bad policy however you see by the Votes it has the sanction of Parliamt. you Judge exceeding right to prosecute any outrage of the Soldiers in your Courts because the prosecution here coud not be commenc'd till they return'd home.

Pr the
Pratt

One of your friends in the House call'd for an acct. of the net produce of these new Duties throughout the Colonies & it did not appear they had produced a shilling, that the expence is too great for the Income & the design of laying these duties was not the value of the revenue they woud bring in but merely to keep hold of the favorite scheme of taxing America, & adding a troop of Officers to the weight of the Gov^r. & thereby diminish the fredom of the People

I am glad you are convinced of the inexpediency of publishing in the papers letters wrote with a friendly freedom which I own has often been a restraint on me in writing, you need be under no apprehension of inconveniences from the Letters you write to me they are always wrote with prudence & cautioun however none shall be publish'd for the future by my direction.

The greatest resentment you & some others have reason to fear will arise from Gov^r. Bernards representations in his Letters which now lay on the Table of the House of Commons — & have certainly made bad impressions on several of the Ministerial party & occasion the severity you complain of & which they dont seem inclin'd to relax

I have not fail'd to urge in your behalf how peacably you have submitted to these new duties without any disorder tumult or Riot — & I think the representations that have been made of you are exceedingly unjust — when the Stamp act was agitated you had a Ministry in your favor now you have to do with a Ministry that is impos'd upon by false

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 534-535.

representations, which have fill'd them with groundless jealousys not to be remov'd by reasoning, which have occasion'd all the severities against you but which have given great pain both to your friends in doors & out, & occasion'd a general dissatisfaction with the Ministry, nevertheless they yet maintain their Majority in the House

I have always maintain'd the utility of your Committee of Convention¹ which I think was of real service to the peace of the Country

L^d Hilsborough is very fond of finding fault with the delivery of the Petition of your House to the King, the true fact as I wrote you before, was the petitions & Letters came to hand just in the confusion of chusing Members for Parlia^t. during which time I knew it woud not be attended to & therefore did not present it but reserved it 'till a more favorable opport^y: Gen^l Lyman² being there at my house agreed with me in that opinion, a following Ship bringing it in print I being then at my Country house 10 Miles off M^r Sayre immidately left it with L^d H. that he might have it in his hands before the printed Copy was made public & he appointed the next Morn^g. for me to wait upon him as Agent to recommend it to his attention which accordingly I did & he said he had the petition & I desired him to deliver it in that time & manner as he thought woud be of most service to my constituents, & it remain'd in his hands till he shew'd the King & was brought with the other petitions before the House of Commons; therefore asking his Lords^{ps}. pardon his account of this transaction is very trifling, demonstrates his unwillingness to receive petitions from the Colonies which all the Agents have observ'd

We had a meeting of the Agents last night at which it was unanimously agreed to Petition the House for a repeal of the obnoxious acts leaving the matter of right quite out of the question, as we woud be wanting in no effort in your favor, whether it will be successful or not I can not say, & tho' the Merchants were discouraged in their application in your favor, I hope to get them to make another effort in conjunction to add weight to that of the Agents.

I refer you to my last disagreeable Letter to the House concerning which I have received no further particulars only that the Attorney Gen^l. has declar'd there is neither Treason nor misprision of Treason in any of the papers now before the House, which papers are the ground of all their proceedings

I must renew my former advice that you be prudent & persevering in your wise & politic submission to the difficulties you are under for true greatness of mind, is as evident in bearing afflictions becomingly as it is

¹ The convention held in Boston in September, 1768: see p. 342, above.

² Phineas Lyman (1716–1774).

in making every effort to maintain your invaluable priviledges, which will always be near the heart of Yr —

P.S. I write this in a private capacity.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Feb^y 25th 1769

M^r. R. CARY —

Yr friendly letter of Jany 20th lies before me & I woud not let any ship sail without giving you some advices concerning American affairs, tho' hardly know what acct. to give you at present every thing looks dark & discouraging & the Scheme of oppression runs very high & rains general discontent the Gov^r seems to triumph in his victory & has no moderation in using it tho' I woud hope some alteration may happen before he puts off his harness, I have always dealt very openly with L^d H & very probable he thinks too plainly, for I once told him I had nothing to ask nor nothing to fear, & therefore treated the hardship of your case without reserve, & apparently stand on very good terms with him, tho' I think he has been trifling in the acc^t he has given of the delivery of the petition from yr House I waited on him the very next day after M^r Sayre had left it, by his own appointment, as I fully wrote you before

Pr the
Pratt

I dont wonder at the Gov^r being pleased with ye present state of affairs he is now the Hero of the Navy ¹ & all he says goes for Gospel. — I have wrote you from time so particularly that I have not much to add — only that last night we had a meeting of the Agents for the several colonies in which it was unanimously agreed to Petition the Commons to repeal the obnoxious Law whether we succeed or not, we are willing to make every effort in our power in favor of our constituents tho' at present the Ministry seem to persevere in their obstinate refusal of a repeal

While your affairs are so very interesting, I shall write you by every opportunity

DE BERDT TO THE DELAWARE COMMITTEE

LONDON, March 9th, 1769

**TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER COUNTIES
GENTLⁿ.**

Since my last I have receiv'd none from you, but thought it might be acceptable to you to hear how American affairs are conducted.

¹ Perhaps "story."

The Petitions of all the Colonies asserting their own Right of Taxation only have been rejected for that reason, We have had three meetings of all the Agents, to consider the propriety of our petitioning for a repeal of the obnoxious Laws leaving the matter of Right out of the Question, as no petition will be received in which the right of Taxation by Parliam^t. is deny'd, at the two first meetings we unanimously agreed to petition & one was drawn agreeable to that resolution but at the last meeting several objections were raised, the most material of which was, that our taking no notice of the matter of right was virtually giving it up, which we by no means intended doing, my opinion was, that it would not admit of such a Construction, but rather would be a midde way neither asserting or denying it still lays in suspence, what kind of application shall be made, for we think some sort of application necessary in this Sessions.

In the mean time I would advise you to pursue with a cool manly, firm perseverance, your various schemes of Oeconomy — I think you were very prudent in chusing a Comtee of Correspondence which will prove very usefull & necessary, in case yr. Assembly be dissolved, which seems to be the ministerial plan, for I am very sensible of the State of Anarchy into which you are in danger of falling which would be attended with dreadfull Consequences. I am with great Concern for y^r Liberties yrs. &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON March 10th 1769

To Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r

Since my last of the 18th of Feb^y the Agents have had two meetings in which they drew up a petition to present to the House for a Repeal, but as we dare not mention your Right of Taxation because it woud have occasion'd an immediate rejection without even reading we chose to make no mention of the Right at all, which some thought might be virtually giving of it up which we wou'd by no means do, so that we coud not be unanimous in our application, that we laid it aside for the present, but are determined in some way or other to bring it before the House before the session is over, tho' I fear it will not be attend'd with success

The Mutiny Bill is not yet come from the Cabinet when it comes into the hands of the Secretary of War, I shall wi the rest of the Agents carefully attend it

I waited to day on L^d Hilsborough, to know from his own Mouth what were the designs of the Ministry relating to Boston, he magnified

the Mildness of Administration, as the address & answer which I sent you contain'd nothing but words, which he said the Ministry woud not put in execution without some fresh provocation he inlarg'd on his favorite topic the great kindness Gov^r Bernard had for Boston

I urg'd the removal of the Troops but he said he woud not be the Minister who shou'd advice such a measure for fear of any future disturbance, but that if the Assembly in May open'd in a good temper he believed they might then be overaw'd or the number lessen'd

I also mention'd the unfriendly severity with which the Commissioners executed their office & asserted as there was no violence offer'd their persons it was their own fears sent them into the Casstle, that there was a Calm temperate measure of executing an office, which made it less disagreeable to a People than an haughty manner which doubled the burthen

He mention'd some lawsuits carrying on which did not evidence a good temper, I told him I thot when ever the subject was oppress'd by persons in office they were quite right to avail themselves of the Law when they did it with a calm Temper & a steady adherence to Justice —

I have thus as far as I can recollect given the substance of what pass'd with his Lordship to day that you may the better regulate your conduct which I doubt not, will be temperate prudent persevering & animated, that your Enemies may take no advantage against you

I enquired of his Lord^p whether he had given Gov^r Bernard any instructions to lay before the Gen^l Court in May, he said he had only sent them the Acts [?] of the Houses of Lords & Commons with his Majestys answer, without making any animadversions thereon

The delay of the Repeal gives me very pungent concern for the consequences which I've confidence your prudence & wisdom will regulate, the Agenty for the Jerseys who is Secretary to the Lord Chancellor assur'd us at the last meeting of Agents that we might depend on the Acts being Repeal'd next Session by the Ministry themselves but that no Consideration woud induce them to do it this year, so that you will have a fair opportunity of persuing your schemes of Oeconomy in which I heartily wish you Success & you may depend on my constant & unwearied endeavors to serve you here & am ¹

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, xx. 536-538, but dated March 13, 1769.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON March 14, 1769

M^r R. CARY

D. SIR

I have by this Ship wrote particularly to the House the subsistence of Conversation I have lately had with L^d. H. in Order to be with them at the opening the Court in May, he declared he had no design of putting any severe methods into practice, but only to hold the rod over your heads in Case you should be refractory, neither could I obtain a promise of the removal of any of the Troops untill he saw with what temper your general Court opened, he also told me that Gov^r Powenal was making great Interest for my Agency, & in order to make himself popular, he has lately run very strong against Administration, but I think he is too well known in Boston to succeed, I told my L^d. H. if he has so much trouble & as little Success with his L^dship as I have had it would be of no great importance who had the Agency, I have had the same information from other quarters as well as from his Lordship, but every one hear smiles at his officiousness.

Their being every year a New Mutiny bill the Agents will attend it Closely when it comes out of the Cabinet, which is expected every day, least it should bear hard on America.

There is no probability of a repeal this year therefore you will do well to persue your schemes of Oeconomy, with prudence & vigour, & continue to import no goods, untill those that now will not be convinced by reason may feel the inconveniency, for nothing else will remove the delusion you should be exceeding cautious, least by any intemperate heats you give your enimies advantage against you & be assured that I am &c

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

29 March 1769

SIR

Since my last of 10th March I am honour'd with none from you, but M^r Sayre show'd me your very friendly Letter to him in which you kindly mention several reports relating to my conduct which are such false representations, that I am obliged, both for your Satisfaction and my own reputation to endeavour to set them to rights, as I have the same ardent Zeal for serving the Province and defending the Cause of Liberty that I ever profess'd and should be grieved if any of my Friends imagined

it in the least abated nor have I ever had any other sort of connection with the Earl of Hilsborough than transacting the business of your province & that of the 3 Counties on the Delaware.

When the Petition of your House arrived, there were very few persons of distinction in Town, all those to whom you sent Letters except one, were in the Country it being in the time of general Elections I thought it better therefore not to deliver your Petition immediately, there being none of your Friends present to support it, and the situation of things remaind such even till some time after I had actually deliver'd it to my Lord Hilsborough (if its being confessedly in his possession may be call'd a delivery) — for my being a small distance in the Country, M^r Sayre, left it with his Lordship on the monday Evening, waited upon him the next morning, when his Lordship appointed Wednesday the next day at 12 oClock for me to attend him — I accordingly waited on him & after his having told me that he had the petition talked near an hour upon the Subject, and I urged his Lordship to present it to His Majesty when He thought it would be most for the Benefit of the province A few Weeks after this meeting I again attended his Lordship, who show'd me a Letter printed that day in the public papers, the Writer of which reflected upon his Lordship for having secreted the Petition and this founded upon Intelligence from your side the Water — I therefore in justice to his Lordship & real truth immediately inform'd the public by an advertisement¹ I & not his Lordship had for various reasons delay'd it so long, that accusations from America against his Lordship could not be just at that time he having had possession of it as near as I can remember about three Weeks — Upon my delivering the Letter from your House as you may see by mine of the 26 aug^t. His Lordship repeatedly told me that the King had seen your Petition & his Secretary M^r Pownell being then present, said, he wonder'd how any one dare assert the contrary, if his Lordship did not show or deliver it in a public capacity or if it was not the first presented to his Majesty as it was the first Petition from the Colonies which came into Secretarys Hands — *I am not culpable*

As to your Convention Petition (which was essentially defective, not being signed by the whole body, but only by the Chairman) I was advised by every person I consulted in both Houses except My Lord Hilsborough (& his Advice, I conceive is not esteemed with you as the absolute standard of rectitude & infallibility) by no means to deliver it to His Majesty in person, and the Opinion of an Eminent Councillor, who is a member

¹ See p. 338 note, above.

of Parliament and generally believed to be a steady Friend to America was, that I could not do it with any safety to my person or advantage to the Province, and you may be assured it could not possibly have had any influence upon the King's Speech as it was rejected with contempt by the whole P. C.¹

From the above account, tis plain that my Lord Hilsborough's Representations of my conduct respecting the Petition of the House, is a meer artfull trifling with words & Forms, and convinces me of what I before suspected, that His Lordship is not pleased with your Petitions or the Spirit which produces them — He freely expresses his disapprobation to all Agents and recommends that the business of the province should be transacted by the Governors with the Secretary of State, which I am sure would not prove beneficial to the people

My highest ambition is to merit and preserve your Approbation of my conduct. I endeavour'd to render you my best Services, long before I was honour'd with your public choice of me as your Agent, & you may justly expect the same Services from the same principles.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON April 3^d

To Thos. Cushing Esq^r

Inclos'd you have the last Mutiny Bill for the use of your House which I tho't necessary to send by the Packet as there is no Vessel sailing for Boston but shall send a duplicate by the next Ship, which is as favorable to America as we cou'd obtain, it was hurried thro' the House with precipitancy

Nothing concerning America has occur'd since my last I wish I cou'd give you a more encourageing account of affairs, but there is still no likelihood of a Repeal which gives me real concern, as anything new arises you may depend on hearing from &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON April 24th 1769

To THE HLE. Thos. CUSHING Esq^r.

Since my last there has been a motion made in the House of Commons to repeal the Laws you complain of, but the consideration of it is put off

for the
Paoli ²

¹ Privy Council.

² The Paoli was commanded by Capt. James Hall.

untill next Sessions therefore there will be no opportunity of obtaing redress untill then, the present Sessions breaking up in a few Weeks, so that it will require your utmost prudence in persevering in your schemes of Oeconomy, which I think must convince our ministry of their mistake in imposing duties on the Colonies

Their is a great discontent at their conduct & such an opposition to their measures, as I hope will in the end overturn them, & introduce an administratⁿ. more favourable to America

You may depend I shall spare no pains in endeavouring to remove the prejudices which have unjustly been taken of your Conduct &cc.

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON SELECTMEN

LONDON Ap 25th 1769

To THE SELECT MEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON

I received your favour of the 25 Feb^y you need make no apology, for employing me in any service, in which the Welfare & prosperity of the Town of Boston is concerned, I only wish I could render them more substantial services, than the present situation of our Ministry will admitt, to whom I am satisfied you have been grossly misrepresented, & the great unhappiness is, they are not disposed to hear anything in your favour, as I doubt not you will be informed by the other Gentlⁿ to whom you wrote.

pr the
Paoli

Your Complaints of the Military Conduct is Certainly very just, & I am convinced they are intirely needless, & have always strongly remonstrated against it to Ld H — but to no purpose, as the design was certainly to fling a hardship on your province, arising from the offence that was taken against your Circular Letter which I always thought a prudent measure, & I believe will now appear to be so

It was certainly prudent to adress the Gov^r in the manner you have done,¹ & am astonished you have received no further satisfaction, but he has the intire Ear of the Ministry & has been Knighted for his pretended services²

I imagine the Grand dispute with you to be your appearing foremost in the Cause of Liberty for which the Ministry have treated you, with peculiar rig^r. for when I remonstrated to Ld H — the Conduct of the

¹ For the Selectmen's address of February 16th, and the Governor's reply of the 18th, see Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiii. 6-7.

² Bernard was not knighted, but was made a baronet on April 5, 1769.

officers refusing to Quarter the Troops in Fort William His Lordship answer'd they had orders so to do w^{ch} shews a disposition to distress you

Under such Circumstances I do not wonder at the uneasiness of the People, & have always asserted that the Committee of Convention was not only a prudent but a successfull means of preserving your tranquility, & I think you are highly to be commended for keeping peace under such Circumstances, & hope the same temp^r will still produce the same effects, tho I am convinc'd your provocations has been very great & your Enemies malin, both Cruel, & secret, & could they be detected w^d. prove greatly to the advantage of this Country as well as you.

I am fully perswaded you are strongly attach'd to his Majestys person, & Family, & Government & it may be more so than your Enemies, who make such pretentions to it, & Lord H — has an unalterable apprehension that the opposition to the Late oppressive Laws, arrises merely from a few men, that are influenced by a Spirit of faction, which I took the Liberty to affirm to his Lordship that nothing could be more false.

The ministry take such large strides of power, as gives great Uneasiness to the people here & there is such a general discontent at their measures that it occasions a ferment throughout the Whole Kingdom which will hardly subside without some alteration, & I have made an observation that the Friends of Liberty here, are also friends to America & the favourers of arbitrary power are for using severity with America, which shew the principals from which they act,

I have waited upon Dr Franklin & talked the affair over with him, who was of opinion that nothing at present could be done to relieve you I also informed the other Gentⁿ. that any papers I had was at their service whenever they wanted them &c. & I shall be very happy to join with them in any scheme to promote your felicity

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON May 12th, 1769

THO^s CUSHING Esqr.

His Majesty at proroguing the Parliam^t. made a Speech which plainly discovers he is still misinformd of the true state of affairs in America and his ministers continue in the same Temper with which the Session begun which would be disagreeable to me to repeat as well as for you to hear but I lay the whole before you for the Governm^t. of your Conduct and here inclose you his Majesty's Speech — — Our affairs at home are still in a great perturbation which I suppose may be the reason of the

Parliam^{ts}. being proroug'd for so short a time, when any thing important occurs you may depend on hearing from

Your obedient &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

T CUSHING CONTINUED

The minds of the People as well as in America The freeholders of Middlesex are preparing a Pettition in which the Concerns of America are introduced, & some of your grievances pointed at, which will discover the sense of that body relating to your affairs

A united & peaceable persuit of the Conduct you have adopted untill you obtain the end you have at heart is warmly recommended by yours &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON May 20th 1769

To THE HBLE Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r.

My last was only a few Lines to inclose you the Kings Speach by which you will see the temper of the Ministry at that time, they have since industriously spread it about the City that the obnoxious Acts will be repeal'd next Sessions the first business it enters upon if the people of America remain quiet, till then, & have desir'd several Merchants to write over to that purpose, with which I thought proper to acquaint you, that you may judge what dependance you may have thereon.

With regard to my own sentiments, I cannot advise you to lay aside one measure of Oeconomy which you so prudently fixed upon, because if there should be a disappointment, or delay, your people will grow impatient & turbulent & will render it more difficult to return to your methods

Oeconomy after they have been once suspended, — you have other difficulties which must be removed before the Affection between the Mother Country & her Colonies can be reestablished

I yesterday waited on Ld Hilsborough that I might have it from his own Mouth, but as he was retired into the Country, I waited on Lord Dartmouth who Confirm'd that the ministry gave out that the Acts would be repeal'd the first thing next Sessions, but he could not see if they *really* intended it, why they should not have done it the last Sessions, I also waited on Mr Burke who gave me the same account, & expressed his concern, at the Cause of the general uneasiness that is in the¹

¹ The letter ends here. It was printed in part in the Boston Gazette of July 31, 1769, p. 1/1.

DE BERDT TO CÆSAR RODNEY

LONDON May 20, 1769

CAESAR RODNEY Esq^r

Since my last the Parliament is broke up without doing anything in your favour but the ministry now give out that they intend a Repeal the begining of next Sessions, & have desired several Merchants, to write so to their Correspondents in America, how far they are to be Credited time must determine

You have wisely & unitedly thro the whole Colonies settled a Scheme of Oeconomy, which I cannot but advise you to pursue, for peace & Union thro the Continent will be the most effectual method to relieve you and therefore ought to be vigorously prosecuted.

There has been some methods taken to divide the leading men of Virginia, which I hope will not succeed, for if any one of the provinces forsake their Patriotism it may have a fatal effect upon the Whole &c.

DE BERDT TO CÆSAR RODNEY, ETC.

LONDON 13th June 1769To CAESAR RODNEY Esq^r AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LOWER COUNTIES &c.

Wrote that I was unwilling to take any Intelligence from the public reports but had rec^d it from Lord Hillsborough, that the Ministry profess'd a design to repeal the American Revenue Acts next Session but that they might judge of the truth or sincerity by their past conduct — desired them to be steady in the same measures of frugality which had been heretofore adopted &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON June 1stHONB^l. THO^s CUSHING Esq^r

You will by many letters of mine which I imagine are come to hand before this time that I have not been remiss in soliciting your affairs but faithfully transmitted to you & faithfully related L^d Hillsboroughs declarations to me of his regard for America, his practice being so widely different makes me of your opinion that his design was to alter the Constitution of your province which he acknowledged to me sometime agoe & alledged the people had too much power & I question if the delay of the repeal is not design'd by giving time to tamper with the respective

provinces & thereby break that union & harmony which is your strength, for the divisions [?] are not confined to your Prov^e. L^d Hilsbg. having hinted to me that several other Chartars wanted mending, with relation to which I dealt very freely with him, as well as with relation to many other of your grievances which makes me believe he has a particular dislike to me — Gov^r Bernard you see has for a long time been the Tool of L^d Hilsbo^g. to promote his oppressive measures for which he is knighted, & no wonder he little cared whether he pleased you or not, his expectations were from a different quarter & he is now order'd home to receive his reward — Every effort to relieve you has been tried by your Friends but the weight of the Ministry has always born them down, your vindicating yourselves to them is to no purpose for they are determined to consider but one side of the question & receive all their information from their own creatures, People in general are alarm'd at their Conduct as you will see by the inclosed Petition of Middlesex,¹ the most opulent County in England

I am affraid the Ministry will never alter their measures while they are in power & have got by their numbers in both Houses an approbation of their past conduct which they seem'd sencible woud not bear inspection —

I this Morn^g waited on Colⁿ. Barrie who received & last night delivered the petition of y^r Town to His Majesty by giving into his own hands having first perused it, he will write to you by the first Ship — but coud not do it to day being crowded with business of his own — some of the Ministry which he afterwards spoke to seem'd offended that they had not seen it before presentation

Colⁿ Barre seems to think, the Ministry are convinced they cannot go thro' their schemes with regard to Taxation in America, to whom I refer you for a more particular account — I also waited on L^d H — to know from him^f the truth of the report which has prevailed in the City that the Ministry gave out that the repeal of the obnoxious acts shoud take place the begining of next session to which his Lord^{sp} answered he had wrote to every Gov^r on the Continent that they *shoud* be then repeald & that not one person in the Ministry entertained any thought of taxing the Colonies for the future the said Lett^{rs} will no doubt be communicated to you

What dependance may be placed on this promise I will not venture to say but you must compare them with the tenour of the Kings Speech which accompanied them — — I am on all occasions

¹ See the Gentleman's Magazine, xxxix. 289-291.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON July 20th 1769HONBLE Thos CUSHING Esq^r —

SIR

I received your favor by the Rev^d Mr Moor¹ who comes at an unhappy season just after Dr Wheelocks charity² has been largely contributed to

You judge exceeding right of Colⁿ. Barre & my last inform'd you of the chearfulness with which he engaged in your service & the manner of his delivering the Petition

Gov^r Pownal had no particular influence settling the Mutiny Bill in its present form for it was prepar'd in the Cabinet a Paragraph Gov^r Pownal proposed to the House was rejected & one by Mr Garth³ accepted in the room, as he himself inform'd me

I congratulate you on your being again chosen to the important office of Speaker & doubt not your Temper & conduct will greatly contribute to the Wisdom & resolutions of your House, which I see by the papers opens with a becoming Zeal for their priviledges & a true spirit of Loyalty & Patriotism

I am obliged to you for the copy of the Boston Instructions which breath the same spirit & demonstrate the firmness of your Resolution which I highly commend.

I am much pleas'd with the Merchants Resolution & steadfastness & hope it will not be laid aside 'till you obtain a redress of your grievances — the Merchants in general here are with you in opinion⁴

¹ The Boston Evening Post of June 11, 1770, contained this notice: "The Rev. Mr. Moore, Minister at Halifax, now in England, solliciting Charity for the Support of Dissenting Ministers in that Province, has had the Honor of Doctor of Divinity conferred on him by the University of King's College, Aberdeen" (p. 3/2). The degree was conferred on "Mr. Gulielmus Moore," "Minister of Halifax, Nova Scotia," on March 2, 1770 (P. J. Anderson, Officers and Graduates of University & King's College, Aberdeen, 1893, p. 102).

² The Rev. Eleazar Wheelock (1711–1779), whose Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut, developed into Dartmouth College.

³ Charles Garth, Member of Parliament for Devizes Borough, Wiltshire, and agent for South Carolina.

⁴ The rest of this letter is crossed out.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Aug^t. 28th 1769To THE HONB^l Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r.

I am greatly obligd to you for yours of 13th July, acquainting me that I was chosen afresh the Agent for y^r House, & shall embrace every oppor^{ty}. to promote the Public good, & concur with Mr. Bollam¹ in every measure to that end & when I receivd. the instructions from the House I shall endeavor faithfully to discharge them & your so early communicating the determination of the H. is peculiarly obliging &c Our Public affairs continue in the same distracted situation as when I wrote you last &c

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON Sep^r 11th 1769SAM^l ADAMS Esq^r

SIR

I receiv'd yours of y^e 31st July by Col: Hoar,² I will do all in my power to make the papers sent me by your House ans^r the end intended, it is plain Gov^r Bernard has mistaken the Road to happiness by conciliating measures

I am oblig'd to the House for their good opinion of me and chusing me by so great a majority

I have not yet seen Col: Hoar when I do shall treat him as a friend to your Province — As I wrote to Mr Cushing that the Ministry gave out they would repeal the obnoxious Laws next Session We shall by the end of this year be a judge of their intentions as by that time the Parliam^t. will be open'd & we shall see the temper of y^e Ministry by the Kings Speech. I am &c

DE BERDT TO EDWARD SHEAFE

LONDON Sep^r. 11th 1769EDW^d SHEAF Esq^r

I receiv'd your friendly Letter of y^e 28th July and am much obligd to your Circumstantial detail of the conduct of the several parties with

¹ William Bollan.

² Perhaps Col. Jonathan Hoar (1720-1771). The Boston Gazette of May 27, 1771, contained this notice: "We hear that Col. *Jonathan Hoar*, who was employed in the Service of this Province during the last War, and some Time since went from this Place to London, lately died on his Passage thence to Newfoundland" (p. 4/1).

regard to an Agent and I am sure you would have been disappointed had you fix'd on Gov^r. Pownal who is as irresolute as the Wind, in one days debate a friend to America the next quite with the Ministry and as for his making a motion in y^e House to repeal the Laws he might as well have attempted to remove the House Itself which he perfectly knew, L^d Hillsborough inform'd me he was aiming at my Place to which I replied, if he had as much trouble and as little success as I had with his Lordship it was no matter who had the Agency. — Mr Burke has too much business on his hands to undertake an Agency and so has Col: Barrie who is at present in Ireland but will both lend me their friendly assistance

I never saw Mr. Bollams pamphlet but apprehend it must be a tedious performance however I shall concur with him in any measure for the good of the Province. — — I am exceedingly oblig'd to you for your hasty Acco^{ts}. of my Choice to be Agent to our good friend Mr Cary but the unanimity of the Choice lays me under fresh obligations to your province to serve them with fidelity & care.

I am &c

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON Sep^r. 11th 1769

THE HON^{BLE} JAMES OTIS ESQ^r

SIR

I had the honour of yours by Col: Hoar whom I have not yet seen but shall treat him wth all y^e respect due to a friend of yours — — I shall take the necessary care of the Papers from your House committed to my charge and draw and present a Manifesto of your grievances

I am &c —

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LOND^O. Sep^r. 15th, 1769

THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r

I have the honour of yours of y^e 30th June covering a Petition to His Majesty which you direct me to deliver in person to him which accordingly I did yesterday that I might exactly conform to your orders but is not the common form of business as Petitions deliv^d. to y^e King in person are not liable to be call'd for in Parliament — to remove which inconvenience I left a Copy at L^d Hillsborough's House against his return from Ireland which is daily expected.

I give full credit to all your complaints and think y^o have behaved with uncommon prudence & temper under all the insults you have suffer'd and that temper in the end will appear to be the wisest measure for it will justify the innocent and throw the just reproach on the oppressor.

Your Petition will be laid before Parliament with a great number of others from the City of London and almost all the Counties in England which it is hop'd will procure a redress of Grievances both here & with you when ever your Cause comes under consideration I shall apply to all your friends for their assistance in the support of it who are now every one of them out of Town.

I cannot know with certainty who was the proposer of bringing persons to England from America to be tried for Treason it being fix'd in y^e Cabinet, but when I spoke against to L^d Hillsborough he told me they were designd to execute that resolution but that it might hang over the American's heads to keep them in order — — I shall procure all the papers that may be of service to your cause and I shall think it the highest happiness & satisfaction if I can be a means of obtaining your relief

I also receiv'd yours by the direction of the House of the 26 July with the several Affidavits proving the insufferable insolence of the Soldiers in obstructing the Course of Justice nay I may say endeavouring entirely to defeat and make it appear to all the World that it is not the inhabitants of Boston but the Military force sent there under a pretence to preserve the peace that create disturbances — — As soon as L^d Hillsborough comes to Town I shall by a memorial lay the case before him with the several Affidavits proving the fact and acquaint you with the success of my application & likewise communicate it to our friends when they come to Town.

It was a very prudent step to give Col: Dalrymple and Lieut. Ross¹ notice that they might be present if they chose to cross examine the Witnesses and will justifie your impartiality to all y^e World and make it appear it was not done clandestinely as some have been from another quarter.

The unanimous choice that your Hon^ble House have again made of me for their Agent affords me a peculiar satisfaction and will engage the constant fidelity and attention of — — Y^r oblig'd & obed^t Serv^t.

¹ Col. William Dalrymple and Lieut. Alexander Ross, both of the 14th Regiment.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LOND^o Sep^r 18: 1769.THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r.

I am favour'd with y^r private letter of y^e 8 Aug^t. and am oblig'd to you & my friends for your Zeal & Caution in publishing my L^r. to you concerning L^d Hillb^o.¹ I am not fond of publication but it seems now to be more necessary to appeal to the people as y^e Administration at present don't seem inclin'd to give any relief either here or with you nor shall we know what will certainly be done until the Parliament meets however I imediately deliv^d y^e Petition of y^r House to y^e King as you will see by my L^r to y^e House — — There are many restrictions on your Trade which I sh^d be glad to see remov'd but have no great expectations from the present ministry but I hope they will not be able to stand y^e shock of the numerous Petitions from all parts of y^e Kingdom

I am glad to see the firmness & unanimity of all the Colonies, which persisted in must have y^e desired effect — — I shall be ready to join with M^r Bollan in anything for the good of the Province

It will be the more difficult to attack Gov^r Bern^d as he is under the imediate patronage of L^d Hillborough whose orders he did in *many* Cases exactly follow & therefore is rather y^e Instrument than y^e original of Several mischiefs particularly quartering Soldiers in the Town wⁿ y^e Barracks were empty — I have employ'd a person to procure Gov^r Bernards & y^e other Letters² respecting y^r province of which I shall make y^e best use I can here & transmit them to you with any other account which I think will give you any Satisfaction and am &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

London 30 Septem^r, 1769THOMAS CUSHING ESQ^r

SIR

I would not let this Ship go away without informing you, that the several Letters wrote by Gov^r Bernard and the Commissioners with the Affidavits which they sent to Great Britain from time to time are Copying out. I am waiting for my Lord Hilsborough's arrival in Town, where I shall lay before him the Riot which happened in Boston from the Soldiery, in the interim as Gov^r. Bernard is now here, if you could

¹ See p. 344 note, above.² See Narrative and Critical History of America, vi. 84 note.

prove any Act of oppression he has been guilty of, by which you can lay an Action of damage, he is accountable for the same, & it might not be amiss to bring him before a Jury, & in order to do it you must give me proper Powers. I should be glad to be in any respect instrumental to repair the damages you have recd. by his extraordinary conduct. I shall take some eminent Councils Opinion here, & transmit it to you for your government, & am ambitious in shewing on every occasion how cordially I am

Sir Yours &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON octo^r 12, 1769

THO^s CUSHING Esq^r —

SIR

Since my last, I have got the Copies of the several Letters you desired properly attested, & herewith send them you for the perusal of your House, & have kept Copies of them here to use, as occasion may require, by all of which it plainly appears, there was a Scheme laid to provoke you to that conduct which would have exposed you to censure, but your prudence & temper mixt with a true patriotic spirit has intirely defeated it, and I hope this Confusion will fall upon the heads of those who contrived it

I have not yet received the Case I laid before Counsel but as soon as I obtain it shall immediately dispatch it to you and shall then be better Judge how Governor Bernard may be proceeded against for the culpable part he has acted

As soon as Lord Hilsborough returns from Ireland I shall wait on him to know what he intends further to do relating to American affairs before which nothing will be resolved on — I am &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Nov^r. 1st, 1769

THO^s CUSHING Esq^r —

I have now got Mr Serjeant Glyns¹ opinion copy of which I herewith send you, by which you will be able to Judge how you woud have me proceed

I have today waited on L^d Hilsbourough to know how the Ministry

¹ John Glynn (1722-1779).

design to proceed with America, & find he does not speak with that certainty of a Repeal next Session as he did some months ago & with regard to the Duty on Tea he is entirely for keeping it on, neither does he seem to go any further than the repeal of those on paper Glass & painters Colours

As for Gov^r Bernard he has desired in answer to yr Petition to be heard before the King & Council, & the proofs which you mention to support the Aligations in the Petition will not have so much weight as his conduct (as my L^d Hilsborough says) was by Order from the Ministry, however they dont seem to have any inclination to send him back to your Gov^{rmt} but only that he may resign with an eclat, this hearing my L^d informs me will come on soon & I fear before I receive any further documents from you, tho' my L^d by my desire has agreed to put it off a few weeks it will therefore be right to wait the Issue of this hearing before any further proceedings is begun against Bernard, I shall make the best use of the proofs I have already & believe I must fee Council to attend the hearing nothing in my power shall be neglected — I also waited on Colⁿ Barré who is your fast friend & he gives me some hopes of an alteration in the Ministry which I believe is the only thing can effectually relieve you

As to the Motion for the address of the House to bring persons over here to be tried for Treason, L^d. Hilsborough utterly disclaims its being his, & he says when he was requested refus'd making the motion, but it was then made by the Duke of Bedford

I mention'd to his Lord^{sp} the rescue of John Hiles¹ by the Soldiers when in the Custody of the civil Majistrate which his Lord^p made light of & said it must take its course under the conduct of the Civil Majistrate — I laid the whole affair before the public as I thot it the best way to convince the People how hardly you are used

I urged the *entire* removal of the Troops but they are determin'd to continue one Regiment with you as my L^d still supposes you have a disposition to Rioting tho' I endeavor'd to persuade him to the contrary by your peacable behavior under the insults of the soldiers, & I told him if he desired to keep peace he must order the Troops out of the Town as it was they who caus'd the disturbance by their insolent behaviour

¹ Perhaps "Rily."

DE BERDT TO THE DELAWARE COMMITTEE

LONDON 1 Nov^r, 1769

To THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER COUNTIES
GENTⁿ:

I rec'd the Petition of your House to the King, which I could not deliver to Lord Hillsborough before to day, he being for some time past in Ireland, he said he would deliver it to his Majesty, but desired to see my appointment, which on examining I find is for one Year, which expired last Month, whether his Lordship for that reason will make any difficulty, I cannot say, but if he shou'd I shall shew him your Petitions were made out of the Province, as his Lordship *did* hint to me — — I ask'd his Lordship if you might depend on the Acts being Repealed when the Parliament meets, of which he spoke with less certainty, then when I wrote you last, but determines not to give up the Duty on Tea, but only that on Paper, Glass & Painters Colours, that I fear you will not be fully satisfied with the relief which may be given you.

I am with great esteem Gentlemen Yours &c.

DE BERDT TO HILLSBOROUGH

LONDON Nov^r 6th, 1769

To THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

In obedience to your Lordships command I here inclose you my original appointment of Agency for the lower Counties — Since I had the honour to wait on y^r Lordship a vessell has arrived from Boston which has bro't me no Lrs the hearing of Sir F. Bernard before the Council being a matter of great importance to the Colo^s. I think it proper to inform my Constituents of it, that they may have an opportunity to support the Allegations in their petition

not sent

DE BERDT TO HILLSBOROUGH

LONDON Nov^r 9, 1769.

To THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH
MY LORD

In obedience to your Lordships commands I here inclose you my original appointment to the Agency for the Lower Counties on Delaware

Since I waited on your Lordship last Wednesday a Ship has arrived from Boston but brings me no Letter

As it is of last importance to the reputation of the people in that Colony to have an opportunity of supporting the Allegations in their Petition to his Majesty against Sir F. Bernard I am obliged to *insist on their behalf* that sufficient time be granted them for that purpose, in case he is resolved to make his defence before the King in Council otherwise his Majesty can have an opportunity of hearing but one side the Question

As I think it my duty to inform my Constituents by the first Conveyance to any part of the Continent of this very important proceeding, I must beg your Lordships immediate answer, for the Honour & reputation of two or three Hundred thousand of his Majestys most loyal & loving subjects may depend much on the Event¹

JOHN POWNALL TO DE BERDT

WHITEHALL Nov^r. 10; 1769

SIR

I am commanded by the Earl of Hillsborough to acquaint you, in answer to your Letter to His Lordship of the 8th Instant that the Petition to his Majesty against S^r. Francis Bernard which you mention, having been by his Majesty's command referred to the consideration of his Privy Council any application you have to make touching that Petition must be to that Board.

I am further commanded to acquaint you that the Petition of the Assembly of the lower Counties on Delaware which you deliver'd to his Lordship has been laid before the King. I am Sir

Your most obedient humb. Serv^t.

(Copy)

JOHN POWNALL²

Mr De Berdt

DE BERDT'S PETITION TO THE KING

To THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL THE HUMBLE
PETITION OF DENNYS DEBERDT AGENT FOR THE HOUSE OF
ASSEMBLY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Sheweth —

That your Petitioner having receiv'd a Petition to Your Majesty which according to the direction of his Constituents, he deliver'd to your Majesty in person

¹ Printed in Massachusetts Papers, p. 126.

² Printed in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 126–127.

The said Petition tho' full of duty & affection to your Majesty's person & Government (of which they have especially in the Course of the two last Warrs given undeniable evidence) yet containing heavy charges and grevious complaints of the Administration of Sr Francis Bernard Baronet as thereby more fully appears.

Being inform'd by the Earl of Hillsborough that your Majesty has referred the consideration thereof to Your Majesty in Council; and as your Majesty's determination thereon must greatly affect many thousands of your Majesty's dutifull & Loyal subjects and is a matter of the highest importance.

Your Petitioner earnestly prays in behalf of the said People that in your great wisdom & Justice Your Majesty will be pleased to grant them due time & opportunity to make good the several allegations contained in the said Petition

And Your Petitioner

Shall ever pray.

(Copy)

DENNYS DEBERDT¹

London

13th Nov^r. 1769

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 16th nov^r. 1769

THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r

SIR

Since my last which was of the 1^t Inst. I have upon due consideration how very important the issue of Governor Barnards defence before the pr Cazaneau² King in Council may prove, wrote the enclosed Letter to the Earl of Hilsborough from whom I received the enclosed answer, and in consequence of his answer I, immediately presented the Petition to his Majesty in Council, Copy of which you also have herewith; and have given Sargeant Glinn a retaining Fee, as Council to plead, if necessary in support of the s^d Petition as he has approved himself a very judicious & firm advocate for the Liberties of the people; and is not untouch'd with the hardness of your case; indeed I would, on no condition have had such an able & popular Speaker, appear against you — I have the satisfaction of having this conduct highly approved by Colⁿ Barré, who is himself a privy Councillor and your steady Friend

¹ This is not an autograph signature. The petition is printed in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 127-128.

² Probably Capt. Isaac Cazneau.

Sargeant Glinn, is of opinion, that the documents & papers I now am possess'd of will not be admitted as evidence against the Governor, nor will any papers, which I can procure from the public offices stand as proof, which makes it the more necessary that I demand time & opportunity for you to make good your several Charges

I am inform'd that S^r. Francis Bernard insists on an *immediate* hearing before the Council & apprehend that he will be assisted in his designs by My Lord Hilsborough's Interest & influence, supposing me thus unprovided with evidence against him — I am therefore resolved to disappoint him, by demanding time for you to convince your Sovereign & the whole Kingdom that your charges, tho' *highly criminal are just*

I hope, that from the measures I have taken in this very Interesting affair, his Majesty will be induced, to give you a fair opportunity to support the truth of your several Allegations, and in the course of this application I shall continue to inform you what steps are necessary for you to take for your defence. Please to lay this acco^t. of my proceedings before the House. I am your most obedient & Humble Servant

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON 17 Nov^r, 1769

JAMES OTIS Esq^r

SIR

I have been honor'd with your favour of the 7th Sep^r. giving me some account of the horrid assault ¹ of your Enemies who perhaps might have thought it meritorious to kill a man so obnoxious to their masters in opposing their oppressive designs

I hope by the next Ship to hear of your perfect recovery, & when I receive your particular account of the affair, I shall lay it before the public here, that the prejudices which by various accounts have been impress'd upon the minds of people, may be entirely removed.

I have wrote to the House by this conveyance advising them that Gov^r. Barnard had demanded a defence before the King in Council to which I refer you — My private opinion is, that the Gov^r. who goes by the advice of Lord Hilsborough, designs to gain a hearing immediately, that he may escape the proofs which if time is given you might bring against him, knowing that I am not able to make good all the allegations of your petition for even his own Letters will not be allow'd as evidence, against him, & that a proper Council will be call'd for this purpose — for I am told that they would by no means bring the matter before a full

¹ John Robinson's assault on Otis occurred September 5, 1769.

Council — — I find upon enquiry, that Governor Murray¹ found means to get the sanction of Council in the very same way, tho' charged by the people of Canada of the most arbitrary conduct. I therefore have the more peremptorily demanded a hearing for the people; that in case Gov^r. Bernard at last evades the proofs, he may not evade the imputation of guilt, but appear to the public in his native colours whatever may be the opinion of the Council. I am very glad to find that Mr Reed,² by his acquaintance with you, has so effectually secured your good opinion, and that you, like myself allow him great merit. The honor you shew'd him at his leaving you lays me under fresh obligations.

The present people in power, so openly invade your Liberties, as well as the Liberties of this Country, that I entertain no hopes of any effectual reliev from them nor does there appear any set of men (except such as the people here may after many struggles thrust into power contrary to the inclinations of the court) who would thoroughly restore your broken constitution.

Sargeant Glinn is of opinion that in case the Town of Boston can prove themselves privileged as a Corporate Town so as to prosecute &c. & make it fully appear to a Count of Judicature here, that you may bring a heavy action against Bernard for quartering Troops among you contrary to an act of Parliament; & I leave it to your consideration whether you will not try to bring him before an English Jury by such a prosecution; and immediately furnish me with powers for that purpose.

DE BERDT TO EDWARD SHEAFE

LONDON 23^d nov^r. 1769

M^r SHEAFE

SIR.

I wrote to you the 11th sep^r, since have sent to M^r Cushing & M^r Otis a particular account of the situation of things respecting S^r. Francis Barnard which I suppose they have communicated to you, and hope the measures I have taken will prevent him from gaining any partial hearing, or at least, take off the weight of any partial decision in his favour. The people of England, begin now to be convinced that you have been greatly injured, and are every day uniting in spirited petitions against those evil Councillors who have thus distracted this great nation; and I cannot

¹ James Murray (1712-1794).

² Joseph Reed was in Boston in the summer of 1769. A letter of his, dated August 7, 1769, is in W. B. Reed's Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 137.

help thinking, that the opposition must soon be too powerfull for them, especially as there is now a rumour of a French War, and the Stocks daily falling, for they have utterly lost the confidence of the people which is the only effectual support of a Ministry — — I must once more recommend it to you, to pursue the Schemes of Oeconomy by which you have already regulated your conduct, and let nothing divert you from so eligible so prudent, so spirited, proceedings, till you find a change of measures really take place, for in my opinion you can make no dependance on any men who are likely to succeed the present in power. Lord Rockingham's party entertain the most favourable sentiments of you; but the conversation of those Officers who have arrived here from America, has ever with them done you great Injury. I cannot conclude, without repeating my warmest thanks for your friendly conduct in my last election and with pleasure I subscribe myself your obliged and humble servant.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 2 Dec^r, 1769

To THOMAS CUSHING Esq^r,
SIR

Since I wrote last I have been with the Clerk of the Council to know whether any proceedings respecting your Petition against Gov^r. Bernard were immediately intended, and I received for answer, that Gov^r. Bernard had thrown in his defence, but no time is fixt for its consideration, whenever the matter does come before the Council, I shall have timely notice, & then repeat my demands for a hearing of such Evidences as you may think proper to procure In the mean time I shall endeavour to get a Copy of the Governors defence, which if obtaind, I shall send you.

The Lords have not yet even determined to take the affair up, tho' Sr. Francis warmly presses it, owing chiefly, as I imagine to the measures which I have so early taken to prevent a partial hearing; there appears no probability that the Governor will be sent out to you again, but on the contrary, tis believed he would gladly make for himself a safe or decent retreat.

I shall continue to advise the House of this weighty matter as circumstances may occur — I have the honour to be

Your most faithfull & most obed^t hble Servt

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON SELECTMEN

LONDON Dec^r. 5th 1769

To THE SELECT MEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON.

GENTL^m.

I rec^d. yours of 3^d Oct^r. with your very Judicious & pertinent remarks ¹ on the Lett^{rs} of S^r Francis Bernard which I have order'd to be reprinted here which I think must satisfy every reasonable person that you have been very hardly dealt by & very injuriously misrepresented & I always was of your opinion that a design was formed to irritate the Town to some act of imprudence & violence that your Enemies might take some advantage over you which you have wisely prevented by your prudent Conduct — The case now lies before His Majesty in Council as you will learn from M^r Cushing or letters & vouchers I have sent the House by this conveyance — I am oblig'd to you for the confidence you place in me & shall always endeavor to preserve your good opinion

The grievances you complain of are very just & your request reasonable but in my own private opinion I fear the whole will not be granted tho' your friends do strenuously insist on the whole fabric of oppression being demolish'd, shou'd we indeed have a change in the Ministry our hopes will be more sanguine & every part of the Kingdom is dissatisfied with their Administration as you must see by our publick prints

I have consulted Serjeant Glynn to know if the Town of Boston can sue the Gov^r for any of his violent proceedings & upon consideration he thinks you cannot unless you are a corporation or privileged Town under the Great Seal of England, so that you are perfectly right in the prosecution design'd by you there. I am

¹ On October 23, 1769, a committee wrote De Berdt that "in pursuance of the directions of the Town of Boston we have the honor to transmit you a Pamphlet containing some observations upon divers letters and memorials wrote by Governor Bernard and others wherein the Town has been injuriously aspersed and its inhabitants grossly misrepresented" (Massachusetts Papers, pp. 124-125). The pamphlet was the Appeal to the World, written by Samuel Adams. It was advertised as "*Just Published, and to be Sold by EDES and GILL, in Queen-Street*" in the Boston Gazette of October 30, 1768, p. 1/1, and was reprinted in London in 1770. Cf. p. 302 note 2, above.

PROCEEDINGS IN COUNCIL

AT THE COURT AT St. JAMES'S THE 25TH DAY OF OCTOBER 1769

Present

The Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council

Upon reading this day at the Board a Petition of Sir Fra^s. Bernard Baronet Governor of the Province of Massachusets Bay, setting forth, amongst other things, that he hath received notice that a Remonstrance of the House of Representatives of the said Province, containing divers Charges against him has been presented to His Majesty, and humbly praying that an early day may be appointed to hear & examine the several Articles of the said Charge.

It is ordered by His Majesty in Council, that the said Petition be and it is hereby referred to the Right Honble the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation affairs (to whom the said Remonstrance of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusets Bay stands referred) to consider the whole matter & report their opinion thereupon to His Majesty at this Board.

GOVERNOR BERNARD'S PETITION TO THE KING

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL

THE PETITION OF S^R. FRAN^S. BERNARD, BARONET, GOVERNOR OF
THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETS BAY.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Majestys Petitioner having recēd notice from the Office of one of your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, that a Remonstrance of the House of Representatives of the said Province containing divers Charges against your Majesty's Petitioner, has been presented to your Majesty by the Agent of the said House, and now lies before your Majesty in your Privy Council, most humbly implores that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to order an early day for the Hearing the Examination of several articles of Charge against your Petitioner; for although the said House of Representatives had the Injustice to deny your Petitioner a Copy of the said Remonstrance when it passed that House sometime before the 15th day of July, and your Petitioner was not able to obtain such Copy, till the 27th. day of that Month, only three days before your Petitioner Embarked for England, thereby evidently intending to prevent your Petitioner from procuring such Evidence of the falsity of such

complaint, as might be necessary for his Justification; yet your Majestys humble Petitioner has no doubt that he shall be well able to manifest to your Majesty's satisfaction by the help of such Papers as are now in his possession, and may be obtained from your Majesty's Offices here; the falsity & malice of the Charges, alledged against him.

And your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c.

Sept^r. 23rd 1769

FRA^s. BERNARD

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON Decem^r 8th, 1769

M^R JAMES OTIS

I was favoured with yours for Capt. Bryant yesterday & immediately forwarded the Lr. to Hon. Arthur Jones, as you desired & beg you will freely command me, whenever I can render you any services in this Country, I have already wrote you by this vessell to which please to be referrd — &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 1 Jan, 1770

SIR

Since my last of the 2^d dec^r conveying Copies of the several matters laid before the Council I have received from that board notice for all parties being heard on the 27th Inst. on which I have again consulted Sargeant Glinn, who is of opinion, that, tho' we are unable to produce such evidence as to prove all the alligations in your petition against Sr. Francis Bernard, yet it will be necessary to secure all such papers as may be found suitable for our purposes in the various public offices here at all events and wherein we may fail of clear evidence then to plead want of due time in which it might have been acquired, I shall also join with him another Council who is a Friend to Liberty.

I fear this affair will prove not only troublesom, but very expensive, but apprehend you would spare no cost in pursuing a measure in which your honor is so nearly concern'd and on the event of which your future happiness & freedom may considerably depend — — It will be exceedingly difficult to fix directly on those papers which may be necessary for our purposes, as you have not particularly named them — they must be obtain'd by order of the privy council, and this order cannot be made general unless the party is in favour, and you may suppose there is no

reason to expect much assistance from the chief officers or Clerks of the public Boards.

I shall be under the necessity of keeping those two Gentlemen of the Law who are able advocates & friends to your cause retain'd in your service, and will narrowly watch your Enemies lest any Innovations may be attempted on your charter Rights for those who love power wish to alter & destroy your noble Charter of Liberty under which the people of your province may otherways enjoy pure freedom & to which I was born a friend — I have much reason to apprehend some violations of this nature will be attempted for my Lord Hillsborough has some time since declared to me that in his opinion there was a necessity of an alteration & if once any alteration is admited we know not where it may end — I shall in my application to Ministry to Parliament & to the public, peremptorily insist that all acts for the purpose of raising a Revenue in America, must be absolutely repeal'd, the oppressive powers of the Admiralty courts relinquish'd or circumscribed by the courts of record the civil Magistrats made independent, &c, &c. or otherways there can be no reasonable grounds to expect that mutual harmony & affection which formerly subsisted between America & this Country — I am with great respect your most obedient & most Humble Servant.

Thomas Cushing Esq^r. Speaker of the Honble
To House of Representatives

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Jan^y 4th, 1770

M^r R. CARY

pr Packet

Inclosed you have a Lr to M^r Cushing which as it goes p^r Packett I send under cover to you for safety as the last Lr from him came open to my hand, & I have too much reason to suspect many of my Lrs have been open'd & many retarded, &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Jan^y 4th, 1769¹

M^r THO^s CUSHING

I have already wrote you by this packett in your Public Capacity under cover, as I have great reason to suspect, among the many mean, & wicked, artifices of this Ministry they open my Lrs; the last from you came open to my hands from the Post office, but as I say nothing that I am ashamed off, the detention is the only thing I fear.

¹ An error for 1770.

I have nothing particular to communicate but to assure you of my Zeal to serve the Province, which engrosses all my thoughts & attention, our parliament will meet next week & I am now preparing to publish a pamphlett, clearly stating some points which I think you have overlooked, in all your Lrs &c you say that no goods will imported nor any terms accepted on, but the total repeal of all the oppressive revenue Acts, but you do not particularly point out what those Acts are

Now I propose to recite every particular revenue act with remarks how far they are Unconstitutional & Anticommercial, & some other matters which I shall advise you of in due time, I have republished the Apeal to the World¹ & sent one to all the members that are of consequence as well as spread them all over the Town, for there is no other chance of you & us in this Country obtaining redress but by appeals to the Publick, every body is pleased with the book & despises your odious Gov^r. & I can assure you he is not received with that applause which he expected, & I hope before the Parliament breaks up to make him appear more contemptable. Lord Shel—e & some of our friends are of opinion that we can sue him here, but in important concerns we must be deliberate & weigh things in our mind, & not give way to resentment, so as to impeach our prudence or Judgment & to fight against a Army of artfull wicked men requires all the skill a man is master off — I shall carefull watch the conduct of yr. Gov^r. & if the ministry do clear him by a partial hearing before the P— C— without allowing you time to be heard, the World shall know their vilany & lay the blame on the proper persons

I here inclose you a Lr. signed Junius² addressed as you will see to a great personage, it is universally applauded here except by the Scotch & Ministerial men, you will please to shew it M^r Cary & the rest of our friends, & believe to be with great Esteem & Regard

Yrs. &c.

DE BERDT'S PETITION TO THE KING

To THE KINGS MOST EXCELENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL
THE HUMBLE PETITION OF D. DE BERDT AGENT FOR THE ASSEMBLY
OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Sheweth

That your Petitioner has received notice of an order of Council having passed on the 21st of Decem^r. for the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay

sent
via
R. Island

¹ See p. 302 note 2, p. 389 note, above.

² Junius's letter dated December 19, 1769, contained the celebrated address to the King.

to make good certain alligations against Gov^r. Bernard, before your majestys Privy Council on the 27 of Jany next

And as it is impossible in that time, to obtain, from beyond Sea such evidences as are necessary to support those Alligations

Your Petitioner humbly prayeth, in behalf of the said Assembly, that the Trial may be deferd for some M^{os}s in order that due time may be allowed for obtaining from such a distance the proofs requisite to confirm the several charges urged against Sir Francis Bernard.

And your Petitioner as in duty bound &c.

Copy of a Petition deliverd at the Council Office 18th Jany

PROCEEDINGS IN COUNCIL

AT THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, WHITEHALL the 20th. of Jany. 1770

By the Right Honble the Lords of the Comittee of Council for

Plantation Affairs.

Whereas the Lords of the Committee were pleased by their Order of the 21st. of last Month, to appoint Saturday the 27th. of this Month, to hear the Petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay; containing divers articles of complaint against S^r, Francis Bernard, Baronet, Governor of the said Province.

And whereas His Majesty was pleased, by His Order in Council of the 19th. of this Instant, to refer unto this Committee, the humble Petition of Dennys DeBerdt, Agent for the Assembly of the said Province; praying that the Hearing of the said Complaint may be deferred for some Months, in order that due time may be allowed for obtaining from such a distance, the Proofs requisite to confirm the several Charges urged against the said Governor,

The Lords of the Committee this day took the same into Consideration and were attended by the said Dennys DeBerdt and also by the said S^r. Francis Bernard, and are thereupon pleased to order that the said Complaint be peremptorily heard at this Committee on Wednesday the 28th. day of Feb^y. next.

Whereof all Persons concerned are to take notice, & not to fail attending their Lordships at the said time, in order to be heard thereupon.

(Signed)

STEP: COTTRELL

(A true Copy from the Orig^l.)

sent
via
R. Island

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Jan^y 26; 1770To THE HBLE. Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r.

I have since my last, again petitioned the Council for longer time, in consequence of which I have been examin'd before them, & have obtain'd but to the 28th Feby, as you will see, by the inclosed order altho I asked for 6 mos. — it now plainly appears to me, that S^r F. B. prorogued y^r. house for 6 Mos. that you might not have the opportunity of sending me further documents as a House & that he might obtain his aquittal without opposition, in which I hope I shall disappoint him but should be glad in the mean time to receive further proofs in support of the Allegations in your Petition.

via
Rhode
Island

L. H. before the whole Committee of Council promised me free access to his office for any Lrs. I might want from thence, nevertheless my Council are still of opinion to Petition for further time; to support which they will give their reasons for the delay, & sign their Names.

I shall carefully watch the Conduct of S^r. F. B. & endeavour to defeat his purposes tho the Committee seem'd much in his favour, I assured him I had no personal resentment against him but that I would do my constituents justice,

My Council will meet next week, to consult what furthr. steps can be taken, which I shall advise you

There were very warm debates yesterday in the house of Com^{ms}. & the ministry much disconserted, which it is thought will produce some Changes in your fav^r. w^{ch}. if they should occur you may expect immediat^e advice

HBLE Tho^s. CUSHING continued

I have just printed a small Pamphlet,¹ being the substance of a Lr you sent me last year, with some remarks, which I think may be very usefull at this present time, & shall send you one by the next opportunity, with the votes of our House of Com^{ns} in which you are now particularly interested

I have the Honour to be

Your obliged & obedient Servant

¹ "Extract of a Letter from the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts-Bay, to their Agent Dennys De Berdt, Esq; with some Remarks. London: . . . M DCC LXX." The "Remarks" are printed below, pp. 455-461.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LOND^o. Feby 2^d, 1770To Thos. CUSHING Esq^r SPEAKERTo THE HON^{ble} HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIR Since my last a Copy of w^{ch} you have here inclosd nothing has materially occur'd. Our Council have not yet met to settle our new petition but are of opinion I must obtain attested Copies of all S^r Fra^s. Bernard's Letters to L^d Hillsborough which will be an expensive affair and then the Clerks must attend with the originals as evidence

There has been some alterations in y^e Ministry but y^e whole not yet settled. I shall be glad you would send me such further Documents as will prove each Alligation in y^r Petition — — American Affairs are not yet come on in y^e House but y^e N^o American merch^{ts}. have joind in a petition to Parliam^t. for the Repeal of one Revenue Act only which I think will by no means ans^r. your end unless the whole system of oppressive Laws be repeal'd for which end I have printed 500 of y^e little pamphlet inclosd & distributed them among y^e members of both Houses which I hope will have the desir'd effect together with a personal application to our friends — — The taking off the duty on Tea meets wth great opposition & tis a Question wth me whether anything at all will be done but if any thing new occurs you may depend upon hearing from

S^r Y^r obedient Hum^e Serv^t.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Feby 2^d; 1770Thos. CUSHING Esq^rS^r

I rec^d. y^{rs} of y^e 18 Nov^r in y^r. private character and herewith send you a little pamphlet which I am now delivering to y^e members of both Houses which contain I think both your sentim^{ts}. & my own & shall enforce them personally with all our friends and wish it may have a good effect — But our Merch^{ts} here as well as severell with you seem contented with a Repeal with the last Revenue Act only and upon that are ready to ship their orders

We had a general meeting with y^e Merch^{ts}. yesterday at which were present Mr Abel James of Philad^a. Mr Murray of New York both Quakers and Mr Frasier¹ Mr Lanes partner produced a Letter from his Corres-

¹ The firm of Lane, Son, & Fraser is mentioned in Historical Manuscripts Commissions, 14th Report, app. pt. x. pp. 295, 304.

pondent in Boston directing him to Ship goods on condition of that Act alone being repeal'd. I strongly opposd a partial application & refused to join therein but they said that Resolution might be right as I was an Agent but as Merch^{ts} they had nothing to do but to ship Goods agreeable to their orders — — I fear there is a Juncto in America which will frustrate all y^r prudent measures unless our ministry is so obstinate as to throw out the partial application which is very likely to be the Case as the Repealing the duty on Tea meets with great opposition and the India Comp^y make no application for it

We have some alterations in y^e ministry and we are in hopes it will go farther but nothing of a certainty is yet known

I have wrote by this Ship to you in your public character and wish you would use your interest & Influence to forward imediately the Documents necessary for the support of y^e allegations in y^r Petition against Gov^r. Bernard.

I submitt to you if it would not be prudent to appoint a Committee to Correspond with me during the recess of y^r house as the want of proofs to support the Allegations of y^r Pettⁿ. must have been retarded by the Artifice of Bernard in Proroging the house for 6 M^{os} just as he left Boston.

I shall take care & advise you from time to time of every important matter & remain with great respect &c.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDⁿ Feb^y 2, 1770

DEAR SIR

I rec'd yours of 15 Novem^{br} & answ^d it by a hasty line by the Pacet to cover on to M^r Cushin & since have been fully taken up in collectin the scaterd documents to prove your alegations against Gov^r. Bernard and am impatiently waiting for fuler evidence from you which I am now cald upon to produce in Concle it was a pointed finess in Gov^r. Bernard to adjorn the House for six months to prevent the House for giving me further instructions as a House which beg you would use your intrest to follow to me as they are of great importance as I am not sure that I shall obtain a longer time then the 28 of Feb^{ry}. tho' I am applying for it.

There are som changes in the ministry in our favor & wee hope for more which will facilitate our applications

In order more effectualy to thro more lite on the application for a repeal on the Revenue Laws I have printed a letter which come last year too late with some remarks which I herewith send you & am now puting it in

to the Hands of the members of both Houses that it may make the deeper impression on there minds than by bare Conversation.

I thank you for your hint about my charges which now indeed rises a pace fees of the Council Chamber & feeing our own Council as well as printing makes the expence very considerable which I have already hinted to M^r Cushing & M^r Otis wrote me word not to spear any expence to bring the Gov^r, to Justice.

The merchants have had two or three meetings about petition^s. which they have at last agreed to do but for the repeal of *one* act only against which I protested for unless the System of opresion is intirely broken you can have no substantial relife my sentiments you have in the inclos^d printed Letter which after reading please to deliver to M^r Cusing in my name

I bless God I do not find my health impa^d by the constant application the business now requires as I am oblig^d to go Dayly from one Noblemans to Another for severl Hours in a morning and often out again in the Evening.

I am with Great Esteem

To M^r R^d. CARY

DE BERDT TO EDWARD SHEAFE

LON^d. Feb^y 2, 1770

M^r SHEAF

DEAR SIR

The friendship you have sh^d me in many instances and the Patriotick temper you poses for bid's me being silent to you tho I have wrote fulley by this ship to M^r Cushing both in his Publick and privet Character I hear send you a little Pamphlet which I am now puting in to the hands of the mem^{rs} of both Houses weerein I think your case is farly stated & the princaps of Liberty fulley maintaintd I fear you have some fals Brethren among *you* which will brake throu the prudent resolutions and have asserted to the whole body of merchants that the Americans will be satisfy^d with the repeal of the last act *only* and produs^d severl letters to prove it as well as two persons from Phylad^a & N York Able James & M^r Murry confirm^d it vive voce and M^r Frazier partner with M^r Lane produ^d a Letter he rec^d a few days since directing him to ship goods on that condision.

wrote the same to M^r Adams Lon^d Feb^y 2

wrote the same to M^r Dexter Lon^d Feb^y 2

wrote the same to M^r Otis London Feb^y 2

DE BERDT TO THOMAS MCKEAN

Feb^y 15, 1770 NEWCASTLEM^r THOS. MCKEAN

SIR

I had not until now an opportunity of answering your obliging favor of Nov^{br}. 9th covering a bill of exchange for 50 pound which is pla^d. to the credit of your House, & am exceedingly obliged by this token of y^r approbation & esteem

American affaires are yet in a great uncertainty the Merchants of London have met & come to A resolution of exporting Goods if they can obtain a repeal of the Single act imposing Duties on Glass, painters Coulers, & paper, & tea, which will by no means effectually remove your difficultys, which arises from a more extencive plan, and is only lopping the top branches of a tree which out to be intirely rooted out; The condisional orders (if these acts are repeld) arose from the Quakers in Phila^a. who grew impatient of the restraints on tread & came into this new agreement which they communicated to Boston, & Boston has done the same; the merchants view in the repeal proposed, was intierly confind to tredade, & they openly acknowledge^d they had no other regard for America, *that* Concernd the Agents, and not the Merchants, the merchants petition lays before the House & will come on in a few Days but is intierly uncertain what turn it will take

I fear this partial agreement will thro you into some confusion in America your letters are all so resolute in preparing for the worst that I think you will not be easily decev'd

L^d Bottentot¹ has amused the Virginians with very high expatations which dose not seem agreeable to the ministrey here — L^d Hilsburgh has peremptory aserted he never will consent to the taking off the Duty upon tea, if that is not done the Quakers Fabrick falls to the Ground & I hope the Colinies will more firmly unite in there common intrest.

I strenously solicit the repeal of the whole, declearing that the relactation of any one point will not satisfie the Americans unless intire Bable be distroyed I make use of this metefor becose we have in England such varieties of Language relating to our publick afares that tis dificult to say what will be the event of the present Sessions the whole nation being dissatisfied with the present measures and the Patriotick minority gradualy increaces tho not so fast as I could wish

I have printed my sentiments in a little pamph^t. which I herewith

¹ Norborne Berkeley (1717-1770), fourth Baron Botetourt.

send you by the Hands of Mr Rhea of Phil^{da}. and hope I have not mistaken the sentiments of my Friends when I frankly lay open my own, and am

With Great Esteem

Wrote to Mr John Rhea of the 16 Feb^y. 1770

DE BERDT'S PETITION TO THE COUNCIL

TO THE RIGHT HONBLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL
THE HUMBLE PETITION OF DENNYS DEBERDT, AGENT FOR THE
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Sheweth,

That your Petitioner having in obedience to your Lordship's Order of the 27th of January, taken every measure to furnish himself with the necessary Evidence requisite to make good the several Allegations brought against Sr. Fran^s. Bernard, by the Province of Massachusetts Bay, humbly begs leave, to represent to your Lordships, that from the nature & importance of the several articles contain'd in their Petition, he finds it utterly impossible to be prepared in support of the above Allegations with any degree of efficacy, without the indulgence of your Lordships, in giving him such further time as may enable him to apply to his Constituents at Boston.

The first notice your Petitioner recēd that the Hearing was appointed for the 27th of Jan^y., was on the 22^d. of Decem^r. last, and no letter of his conveying such intelligence could probably arrive at Boston, before the appointed day of hearing was elapsed; the same inconvenience attended the other Procrastination, which your Lordships have been pleased to Grant.

Should it be suggested that the House of Representatives have had full time enough to have prepared all the necessary proofs in support of their Allegations, and to have transmitted them to England, Your Petitioner thinks it his Duty to observe to your Lordships, that notwithstanding their resolutions complaining of Gov^r. Bernard were passed some short time before the 15 July last, Yet as Sr Fran^s. Bernard thought proper on that day to Prorogue the House to the 10 Jan^y; he, by that very Act has prevented the House of Assembly, for the space of Six Months from preparing, and consequently, your Petitioner from receiving those necessary authentick Proofs, which he now prays he may have an opportunity of obtaining.

After what your Petitioner has above set forth, your Lordships may think it unnecessary for him to observe, that deprived of the possibility of receiving for so long a time from the only proper Authority the necessary Evidence in support of the above Allegations, no private Individual could with any decency, or even safely presume to take upon himself the Representations of a whole Province & transmit to your Petitioner, such Evidence as he might imagine the Assembly, had they been Sitting, would have offered to your Lordships; Indeed had such a Person existed, your Petitioner might have doubted the Authority of his Evidence. The Assembly might in a future Meeting, have censured his temerity.

Thus situated, your Petitioner hopes your Lordships will postpone the Hearing to such a time as may give him the opportunity of procuring the necessary Proofs, in support of those Allegations, which a much Injured & misrepresented People have by the unanimous voice of their Representatives thought proper dutifully to lay before their Sovereign.

The Petitioner therefore humbly prays, that your Lordships will in your Justice be pleased to grant him the due time of Seven Months, enabling him & his Constituents to Act with Certainty and efficacy in this important Business.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray &c
Feb. 15th. 1770

NOTICE ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL

WHITEHALL, Council Chamber
the 21 Feb^y. 1770

The Right Honble the Lords of the Committee of Council for hearing Appeals, Complaints, &c. from the Plantations having appointed to meet in the Council Chamber, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on Wednesday the 28th. of this Instant at Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon, to hear the complaint of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, against S^r. Fran^s. Bernard, Baronet, Gov^r. of that Province,

These are therefore to give Notice to all Persons therein concern'd, that they do not fail attending their Lordships at the said time, in order to be hear'd thereupon.

(Signed)

STEPHEN COTTRELL

DE BERDT'S MEMORIAL TO THE COUNCIL

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL.
THE HUMBLE MEMORIAL OF DENNYS DE BERDT AGENT OF THE HOUSE
OF ASSEMBLY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Sheweth

That your Memorialist having received notice to attend your Lordships in order to support the several allegations which the House of Representatives in the province of the Mass^{ts} Bay have thought proper to present to his Majesty in complaint of their Governor S^r Francis Bernard, and finding himself unable to proceed thereon with any certainty or effect; he thinks it his duty to lay before your Lordships his reasons, why on this day, he intirely declines the attempt.

Your memorialist means not to recapitulate those arguments which in his late petition to your Lordships praying for due time, he so fully set forth — Already your Lordships have been inform'd, that the prorogation which so closely followed the resolutions of the house has prevented the assembly from knowing that their petition was order'd to a judicial hearing, & therefore render'd it impossible for them to transmit any evidence in support of their allegations.

With concern your Memorialist is obliged to observe that he has been since inform'd by a Letter from the Speaker of the Assembly, that a second prorogation to the 14th March, has now compleated the impossibility of his receiving in due time any further instructions from his Constituents. In this situation, the House of Assembly, being by repeated prorogations absolutely deny'd the opportunity of making good their allegations your Memorialist finds himself not only call'd upon to produce his evidence in their support, but is expressly charged by Gov^r. Bernard in his answer to the Representations made against him; with doing all he could, to prevent the hearing, under a pretence of waiting for proofs.

To this charge your memorialist thus replies. He assures your Lordships with a confidence arising from truth, that he has taken every means to prepare himself to obey your Lordships order for the hearing upon this day; that he heartily wishes he could have been able to have effected it; but at the same time he thinks it a duty owing to his constituents to declare, that however desirous he might have been to have obey'd your Lordships order; yet he should have thought he had betray'd their Interests & violated the Trust reposed in him if he had attempted to have supported their petition without the assistance of that evidence on which it was founded.

A further reason, which induces your memorialist to decline entering upon the alligations arises from the Answer of S^r Francis Bernard; your Lordships will therein perceive; new and positive charges against the Speaker & House of Assembly, accusing them among other things with unfair practices in denying him a Copy of their petition to their Sovereign till three days before his departure from Boston and of originating in malice the very petition itself

To these charges is it to be expected, your memorialist thus unprepared can possibly answer, or can your Lordships properly decide upon them when the Assembly against whom they are made, will be at the very hour of decision unacquainted with the accusations.

That Governor Bernard should in such a manner & so warmly press for an immediate hearing, your memorialist is not surprised; the Governor well knows, that had the Assembly been permitted to meet, an opportunity would then have been given to a much injured people, of sending over ample testimony in support of those articles which their unanimous voice have alledged as grievous matter of complaint against him.

But whether your Lordships, deligated by his Majesty to consider & report to him your opinion of the Petition now depending will in your justice or wisdom immediately decide upon it, the Petitioners unheard and from an unfortunate necessity at present incapable of making the proper proofs, is a matter your memorialist submits to your Lordships serious consideration; humbly presuming to intimate to your Lordships, that the present Cause involves in it the happiness of many thousands of his Majesty's faithfull subjects, whose misfortune it has yet been to find themselves misrepresented & condemnd unheard

Your memorialist will not trouble your Lordships with enumerating many other reasons why he cannot why in justice to those for whom he is concern'd he ought not to proceed in support of their petition this day; Sufficient for the purpose he humbly apprehends has already been laid before your Lordships.

With a consciousness therefore of having faithfully discharged his duty in every stage of this import business; your memorialist entirely submits to your Lordships Judgement the Cause of a whole Province; declining as he thinks he is in duty bound to enter upon those allegations in support of which his Constituents have hitherto been deny'd the opportunity of transmiting that evidence on which they were founded —

Wednesday 28th of Feb. 1770

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 24 Feb. 1770

To Tho^s. CUSHING Esq^r

Since my last I have made a fresh application to Council for sufficient time to make good the allegations in your petition, on which I could gain no longer time than the 28 of Feb., a Copy of which drawn up by my council I herewith send you, and since am inform'd of the second prorogation to the 14 march, consequently am entirely disappointed in receiving any documents to support the allegations in the petition or any further direction from you, and as it seem'd to be a ministerial artifice to screen S^r F. Bernard both my Council advise me not to come to a hearing of the merits of the cause, but rather object against any trial untill better evidence can be obtain'd, & if they persist in going into it, it will be such a manifest piece of chicanery as deserves to be brought before Parliament, which I am resolved to effect, for such flagrant partiality should meet with the most exemplary punishment; and I am confirm^d in my opinion by Sargeant Glynn & my other council — — Sargeant Glynn is so valuable a Councillor & Friend I shall be govern'd entirely by his advice, and you may expect to hear by every Ship the Steps I take — Yours &c

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON 24 Feb. 1770

SIR

I have a few days since receivd your fav^r. of 12th Jan^y with the several necessary papers concerning the seizure of the Brig. Betsy, & have this day presented a memorial to the Treasury Board praying for redress — When I receive an answer or any thing new relative to the affair I shall give you immediate notice for the satisfaction of the owners who are highly injured by that unbounded power lodged in the Admiralty Courts which threatens a total destruction to your whole Commerce

Our public affairs are still in a ferment and the concerns of America not yet brought on the Carpet, to which I shall carefully attend

Yours &c

To SAM. ADAMS Esq^r.

DE BERDT TO —————

LONDON 24 Feb, 1770

SIR

By the time you receive this you will have various Letters of mine to lay before the House when they are permitted to meet — This interval of sitting, you will easily perceive puts me under great difficulties, as I would take no steps in so important an affair without your immediate direction; I hope what I have done will meet with your approbation & then I shall be extremely happy — I shall by the next Ship send you a plan of what is necessary to support your allegations, which will make it more easy for you to execute

It is yet uncertain whether there will be any repeal this year as American affairs are put off till next Friday; but its strongly rumoured that the Ministry intend to make your agreements not to import goods, criminal — thereby to break in upon the union of the Colonies — I have drawn up a memorial of the case of your Friend Spear, & to day presented it to the Lords of the Treasury — I will do all in my power to serve him, for I think him greatly injured — I have perused your pamphlet enumerating the many difficulties your trade labours under which are indeed very heavy — I would fain have had many of them tack'd to the repeal of the Stamp act, which I could not then persuade the Merchants to adopt — I shall keep a lively sense of them upon my mind & slip no opportunity to get you fully redress'd which will not be accomplish'd this Session, & in every Instance prove myself your faithfull & Humble Servant

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON March 5, 1770

JAMES OTIS Esq^r.

S^r

I rece'd yours of 18. Dec^{br} relating to the discharge of the Honest Piper which Col. Barre cannot accomplish, his intrest as well as mine lying intirely in the opposition and from the present Ministry we can expect no favor, the opposition to whom increases every Day, & hope in time will have some good effect, American affairs are appointed to come to Day & if it dose the House will set too late to send you any account by this Ship

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON Mar^h 5, 1770SAM^l ADAMS Esq^rS^r.

Since my last I have rec'd an answer from the Treasury relating to the brig Bettsey which is, (by this Ship) sent over to the Commissioners at Boston for there Concurance and I hope they will put no Difficultys in the way of the owners receving a restitution if any should arrise you may fuly com^d. Your Humble Servant.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON March 5th 1770M^r RIC^d CARYDEAR S^r.

I write by this Ship to Mr Cushon both in his privet and Publick capacaity to which pleasd to be referd for an account of the steps I have taken in regard to Gr. Bernard, whose hearing came on before the Council on monday last 28th Feb^y. but have not yet obtaind Copys of minits but hear the Petition is rejected not with standing I flung in a Memorial objecting against a partial hearing which would have been the cace if it had been tried then, it being by too adjorments of your Assembly rend- erd impossible to send me instructions or firlnish me with proofs. I have sent a Coppey of the memorial to Mr. Cushon who will feavor you with a sight of it.

I must be a little cautious what I write to him for my first Letter re- lating to Gr. Barnard Mr Cushon opend in publick company and a Creature of L^d Hilsburghs being present took a Copy of a Parigraph or too which suted his pupose & sent it to his Lordship

American affairs comes on to Day it is thought the House will sit late if the Ship stays until to morrow will ad a postscrip.

DE BERDT TO ——

LONDON 7 Mar

SIR

You will see by the Votes of the House here inclosed that the Commons will not agree to a total repeal of the revenue Law imposing duties on Paper Glass &c. I hope therefore you will now pursue such measures as may effectually disappoint the designs of your Enemies here, who still

still entertain warm hopes that you will soon break thro all your agreements for the nonimportation of goods, and that finally the favourite principle of taxing America must thereby be finally establish'd — I have not yet rec'd the minutes of Council respecting y^e petition

Yours.

DENNIS DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON April 1st. 1770

TO THE HBLE. THOMAS CUSHING ESQ^r.

My Father being much indisposed & this vessell just upon the point of sailing, I take the Liberty of inclosing you the Votes of the House, & S^r Fran: Bernards answer to the Complaint of the House of R. of the M. Bay against him for your inspection

As there has been several reports that the Ministry have flatterd the People with great expectations of the Duty on Tea being repeal'd this Sessions, I can assure you such reports are groundless as they have declared the American Affairs will not come on again this Sessions — —

D. B. Jun^r.

PROCEEDINGS IN COUNCIL

AT THE COURT AT S^T. JAMES'S THE 14TH OF MARCH 1770

Present

The Kings most Excellent Majesty

Lord President — Lord Privy Seal — Duke of Queensberry

Duke of Ancaster — Duke of Newcastle — Lord Steward

Lord Chamberlin — Earl of Denbigh — Earl of Litchfield

Earl of Rochford — Earl of Jersey — Earl of Bristol

Earl of Hillsborough — Viscount Weymouth — Visct. Falmouth

Lord North — Lord Le Dispenser — Lord Pelham

Sir Gilbert Elliot — Sir Edw^d Hawke —

Whereas there was this day read at the board a report from the R^t. Hble, the Lords of the Committee of Council for hearing Complaints from the Plantations dated the 7th of this Instant in the words following

Your Majisty having been pleased by your orders in Council of the 25 of Oct^r. & the 29 of Nov^r. last, to refer unto this Committee the Petition of the House of Representatives of the M. Bay containing divers charges against Sir. Francis Bernard, praying that an early day might

be appointed to examine the several articles of complaint exhibited, against him, & likewise a Petition of D. De Berdt Agent for the House of Representatives of the said Province, praying that due time & opportunity might be allow'd to make good the Alligations contain'd in the complaints agt. Gov^r Bernard, the Lords of Committee in obedience to your Majestys said orders of Refference, did on the 21st of Decem^r. take the said several Petitions into consideration & it appearing by the fore-mentioned Petition of Sir Fran. Bernard that a few days before he embarked for England he obtain'd a copy of the Charges alledged against him, & was prepared to make his answer thereto, their Lordships thought proper to appoint Saturday the 27 of Jan^y to hear the same, but your Majesty having been pleased by another order in Council of the 19th Jan^y to refer unto this Committee a further Petition of the said D. DeBerdt, praying that the tryal of the complaints agt. Gov^r. Bernard might be deferd some Months in order that due time might be allowed for obtaining from such a distance the proofs requisit to confirm the several charges urged against the said Gov^r — The Lords of the Com^{te} did on the 28th of the same M^o. take the said Petition into consideration & being attended as well by the said D.B. the Agent for the Complainants, as also by the said S^r F. Bernard heard what each of them had to offer in support of their several Petitions, & upon consideration thereof, their Lordships were pleased to allow some further time, & to order that the said Complaint should be peremptorily heard at this Committee on Wednesday the 28th. of February, & to that end their Lordships directed all persons concerned therein to come prepared to be heard on that day, & the Committee being met accordingly, another Memorial on behalf of the Agent for the Complainants, dated the 15 Feb^y wherein he prayed that seven M^{os}. time might be allowed to make good the Complaints was laid before their Lordships as was also a Counter petition from S^r Fran. Bernard praying for several reasons therein sett forth that their Lordships would proceed to determine the complaints on the day on which they were appointed to be peremptorily heard, & the parties on each side attending (the Governour only with Council) the Agent for the Complain^{ts}. presented another Memorial to the Committee wherein he declined proceeding upon the Complaints without hav^g. further time allowed him to procure the necessary proofs from his Constituents on which occasion the Lords of the Committee thought proper to put several questions to him, touching the steps he had taken to procure the necessary evidence in support of the Charge, when it appear'd that some time about the M^o of Aug^t. last he wrote to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the M. Bay to send him over the several proofs &

documents necessary to make good the complaints of the said House of Representatives against the Gov^r. & had in several subsequent Lrs. repeated the same but had never received any answer at all from him relative thereto, notwithstanding sundry Lrs. had passed from the Speaker to him since that period containing matters treated on in his aforesaid Lrs. to the Speaker & notwithstanding he was told when the Petition of Complaint was transmitted to him in order to be presented to your Majesty, that the Documents would soon follow, & he was ordered to present the said Petition to your Majesty immediately and the Gov^r. being also called upon by the Committee to know what he had to urge in support of his Petition against granting any further time to the Agent for the Complainants, he offered several reasons to shew that Evidence might have been transmitted to England & received by the Agent for the Complainants in due time, and amongst other things he submitted to their Lordships Consideration the printed Journals of the House of Representatives, whereby it appeared that a former Petition to your Majesty to remove him the said Governor, had been brought into the House of Representatives on the 30 June 1768, and that after debate, the same had been recommitted in order that the Committee might bring in Evidence in support of divers articles alledged; and, by the said printed Journals it further appeared that the next year Viz^t. on the 27th June 1769, the Petition of complaint against the Governor (now under consideration of this Committee) was brought into the House & ordered to be presented to your Majesty, altho' it does not appear by the said Journals that any Evidence was then produced in support of any of the articles of the said Petition; and lastly the Agent for the Complainants having declared to this Committee that he declined proceeding on the business now, or at any future day, unless he was allowed the time he had applied for in his aforementioned Petition of the 15 Febru^y, and as much more indefinitely at the expiration thereof as might be necessary for him to receive Instructions from his Constituents — The Lords of the Committee considering that the Complainants ought to have been prepared with Evidence to support their Charges at the time of presenting the same, or within a reasonable time after, or at least that they might have been sufficiently prepared since the bringing into the House of Representatives the former Petition to remove the Governor in June 1768, and further that the House of Representatives having omitted to send over to their Agent, the Documents necessary to make good their Complaints, altho' it appears by the aforesaid printed Journals, that the House continued sitting Eighteen days after the passing of the said order of the 27 June 1769, could only be with a view to keep up a spirit of Clamour &

Discontent in the said Province, and considering likewise that several of the said articles of complaint against the Governor, could not be supposed to affect the Governor but are rather a charge against your Majesty's Government

Their Lordships are therefore of opinion upon the whole, that the several Charges contained in the said Petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, are groundless, vexatious & scandalous, and that the said Petition ought to be dismissed.

His Majesty taking the said report into consideration, was pleased, with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order that the said Petition of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, be, and it is hereby dismissed this Board as Groundless, Vexatious & Scandalous

(Signed)

W. BLAIR¹

DENNIS DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON April 13, 1770

To THE HBLE Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r

Since I had the honour of addressing you the 1st Instant, inclosing the votes of the House of Com^{ns}. & S^r Francis Bernards answer to the Complaint of y^r Hble House, I have to inform you of the loss of my much honoured & Dear Parent who died on Wednesday last, which gives me an opportunity of forwarding you the Report of King & Council in answer to the Petition of your Assembly & to assure you that I am

With the highest esteem & gratitude

Your obliged & obedient Servant.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS, 1757-1770

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Feb, 25, 1757.

Mr. WHEELOCK

REV'D SIR

Mr. Whitefield put into my hands your several favours relating to a charter for the charity school for the Indian children, and desired me

¹ For "a Copy of Minutes taken by a Gentleman who was present at a late Hearing before a C——tee of C——l," see the supplement to the Boston Gazette of May 21, 1770, p. 2.

to join in with Dr. Avery¹ in an application for that purpose, who cheerfully engaged in such an important service, and we presented a memorial to Lord Haleifax on that head, who approves of the design, and advises instead of a charter from his Majesty which would be attended with a large expence, to gett a law in your province for the establishment of such a school or schools, which when it comes here he promises shall be ratified in Councill which will make it as authentic, as any act here.

The design is noble and important, and I heartily wish you success therein, and I shall with pleasure do anything in my power to promote it, and it is with pleasure I tell you there is the like design going forward among the Catabaw and Cherokee Indians, where two school masters and two missionaries are sent among them under the direction of the excellent Mr. Samuel Davies² of Virginia.

I have long thought, these wars on your back frontiers will issue in some important era of Gospel dispensation among the Heathen, under the Infinite wisdom of the great Head of the Church, who can bring good out of evil and order out of confusion, to him lett us be directing our prayer and looking up; to promote such a Temper, a serious call³ has been published and dispersed among the children of God throughout England, to unite their supplications at the throne of grace for mercy for a sinful land, and a Revival of the work of God among us.

To promote the practice in America I have sent some of these calls to Boston to New York, to Philadelphia and to Carolina and as I think they will be agreeable to you I herewith send you a few, which you will put into such hands as is most likely to forward the design.

Surely if the hands if prayer are lifted up America shall never prevail against us, tho for the trial of faith and patience things may for a season hang in dread suspense, happy when under such gloomy dispensation we are in good David's train that our souls are waiting upon God. and waiting for God as our help and shield. Ye are our fortress and strong tower, where there is effectual security for the children of God, when the enemy breaks into our civil and political strongholds.

Whatever may be the hostile designs of our enemies lett but Emanual be our peace he will raise up against them seven shepherds and eight Principal men and they shall waste the land of Assyria, and thus shall He deliver us from the Assyrians when He cometh into our land and when he treadeth within our borders.

¹ Dr. Benjamin Avery (*d.* 1764), of London.

² See pp. 296-297, above.

³ See p. 425, below.

Here is sufficient security both for Great Brittan and America. This was our happy experience a few years ago when God delivered us from a wicked unnatural rebellion fomented at Rome and supported by France the like salvation can work for you in America, and to whom should the people go but unto their God, be of good courage, Dear Sir stir up the people of God to be wrestling with him, and all shall issue well there is a large number of troops embarking for your continent, and while our ministers of state are wisely choosing out men to fight Amalek lett the ministers of Christ be much in the Mount, and you will excuse this feeble attempt to hold up your hands in

Rev'd and Dear Sir,

Yours in our Com. Lord

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To Rev'd Mr. Eleazer Wheelock.
In Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Mr. Dennys DeBerdt, London
letter. Recad Oct. 1, 1757.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Mar. 24, 1759.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR,

Last month I received yours by Mr. Peters,² and had before seen your account to Mr. Whitefield of the proceedings at the counsill and if such an affair meets with opposition with you, it cannot be expected to succeed here for the least objection made from you against would effectually prevent a grant.

If you can gett over your difficulties and the God of the spirit of all flesh should turn the hearts of the opposers. I shall do everything in my power to gett it ratified here.

You reason very justly. Duty is ours and when we have done our duty, and can quietly leave important affairs to the disposal of our Heavenly

¹ Dartmouth College MSS. For copies of the letters obtained from this source, I am indebted to the officials of the Dartmouth College Library, more particularly Mr. Harold Goddard Rugg. For further information about De Berdt and Dartmouth College, see F. Chase, History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover; B. P. Smith, History of Dartmouth College; D. M'Clure and E. Parish, Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock; W. DeL. Love, Samson Occom.

² Absalom Peters.

Father, it creates a sweet tranquility in the mind and in his our way and time, he will take care of his church and interests.

The several successes you have had in America are matters of thankfullness and I hope a token for good that God will not forsake us. though doubtless there has been a great deal of misconduct and men's lives sacrificed for nothing. Though it is certain a new system has been adopted since Mr. Pitt was in the ministry, and vigourous methods are still pursuing.

That which gives me greatest hopes is, that America lies near the heart of the children of God in England when they address the Divine footstool, and God has stiled himself a God hearing prayer, and particularly importunate for the spread and success of the gospel among the natives that the Heathen may hear and know the joyful sound, and your western end of the earth, become the willing subjects of the Divine Emanuel who is promised the ends of the earth for his possession.

I thank you for your news I had much the same account from Dear Mr. Brainard¹ who seemed to think it an infatuation that the attack on Ticonderoga was made with small arms and as much so that they made no regular attack afterwards and hope it will otherways under Gen. Amherst, who behaved well at Louisburgh.

I had an excellent sermon from good Mr. Davies of Virginia, which I printed and dedicated to Lord Haleifax: and sent them about your continent, and think I desired Mr. Smith of Boston to transmitt one to you: which was a very animating as well as serious discourse. and hope it will be acceptable and useful among you.²

You did me too much honor to read any thing of mine to your congregation, this I hope I can truly say. I should be very glad to be any way servicable to any of God's dear servants, or the cause and interests of our glorious redeemer.³

As Mr. Peters comes so far for spiritual gifts to be communicated from the hand of the Bishop I wish thay may not all be dispersed by the

¹ The Rev. John Brainerd of Bethel, New Jersey.

² See pp. 296-298, above. In a letter to De Berdt dated December 17, 1759, Wheelock said: "Sir, I heartily thank you for the service you did the public, in publishing President Davis' serious, seasonable, and animating sermon to the soldiery, &c." (Memoirs, p. 222).

³ In an undated letter to De Berdt, Wheelock, referring to De Berdt's letter to him of February 25, 1757, said: "I took the freedom to read your former letter to my congregation, and if I shall think this, or any other I may receive from you, may be for their edification; I trust you will account that a sufficient excuse" (Memoirs, p. 217).

gales of the Atlantic. for very few of the clergy give any evidence of them at their return, I wish he may be an exception.

I have this moment a letter come to my hands from a Godly minister in the north of England in Wch. he writes. "I cannot express the pleasure and satisfaction many of the Lord's people here (poor in the world but rich in faith) discourse upon hearing of the reform of our Lord's kingdom who thereby in the simplicity of their hearts testifye a sincere love for Zion's king, and I think prove themselves subjects of that glorious king by rejoicing in his victories — they look upon such events as so many answers to their prayers, and are stirred by them to greater fervor, and importunity in that necessary duty — America has for years past, has been the place where God has performed wonders both in the way of his Providence and Grace, may we not therefore hope he will not give it up into the hands of our Popish adversaries?

You here see what I hinted before verified, then dear sir, do you and your side the water join us in striving together for the faith, hope and success of the gospel; Lett us be the strengthening each others hearts and hands in the work of God, and as if old they that feared the Lord spoke often one to another, lett us dear sir who cannot speak, *write* often one to another, and be thereby provoking to love and to good works, and in this strife. I am sure you will provoke,

Dear Sir, Yours in our comⁿ Lord,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To the Rev'd Mr. Eleazer Wheelock,
MVD at Lebanon Connecticutt.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdt's letter,
Mar. 24, 1759.
Rev'd Mr. Brainard.
Mar. 1759.
(John B.)

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

ENFIELD, Aug. 20 1759

MESSRS POMEROY² & WHEELOCK
DEAR SIRS.

Tho I have heard nothing from you lately I cannot miss the opportunity by Mr. Peters of enquiring after the prosperity of American

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

² The Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy (1704–1784) was a brother-in-law of Wheelock, having married the latter's sister Abigail.

Zion and shall be glad to hear that all your noble designs for promoting the kingdom and Interests of our glorious Emanuel prospers among you.

Divine Providence has given a favourable turn to your military affairs, and we are waiting for God in that respect to perfect that which concerns you and am pleased to hear that Mr. Davies. sermon I published and transmitted to your continent has been acceptable there but how goes your Indian school and mission? Have you got over the difficulties that lay in the way in your Councill? You know you may freely command anything in my power to serve that interest.

Dear Mr. Whitefield is in the North and meets with his usual acceptance and is very well but don't return to London until Sept.

Divine Providence has given a surprising turn to the affairs in Germany by Prince Ferdinand gaining a compleat victory¹ over the combined army of France under Marshalls Contades & Brogleo² by which and its consequences the French army is diminished by 20,000 with the loss of their cannon baggage and military chest, and daily fresh parties intercepted and taken. and particularly 800 at Detmald with the heavy baggage of the French army (among which was found part of M de Contades papers) and the military chest of the Saxons. Among these papers was found an original letter from the Marshall duc de Bellusse³ to Marshall Contades dated July 23 just (8 days before the defeat) published in our Gazette.

"I am still afraid Fischer set out too late; it is however very important and very essential, that we should raise a large contribution. I see no other resource for our urgent expenses, and for refitting the troops but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country; from whence we must also procure subsistence of all kinds (independently of the money) that is to say hay, straw, oats for the winter, bread corn, cattle, horses, and even men to recruit our foreign troops. The war must not be prolonged, and perhaps it may be necessary, according to the events which may happen between this time and the end of Sept. to make a downright Desert before the line of the quarters which it may be then proper to keep during the winter, in order that the enemy may be under a real impossibility of approaching us: at the same time securing for ourselves a large subsistence. on the route which may be

¹ Ferdinand (1721-1792), Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, won the battle of Minden August 1, 1759.

² Louis Georges Erasme (1704-1795), Duc de Contades; and Victor François (1718-1804), Duc de Broglie.

³ Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet (1684-1761), Duc de Belleisle.

most convenient for us to take in the middle of the winter, to beat up or seize upon the enemy's quarters; that this object may be fulfilled, I caused the greatest authority to be used, in preparing what is necessary for having all our troops, without exception, well clothed, well armed, well equipped, and well refitted in every respect, before the end of Nov. with new tents, in order that, if it shall be advisable for the King's political, and military affairs, you may be able to assemble the whole, or part of your army, to act offensively, and with vigour, from the beginning of January: and that you may have the satisfaction to shew our enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act, and carry on war, in all seasons, when they have such a general as you are, and a minister of the department of war, that can foresee, concert matters with the general."

Here is a composition of Pharaoh and Rabshakeh and behold what has God Wrought! when cruelty & blasphemy join to oppress the people of God, he that sits in the Heavens laughs, disconcerts all their measures and breaks the teeth of the devouring Leviathan: as one can hardly read these ordres, without shuddering at their cruelty, but our benumbed heart be roused into a lively flame of love and praise that our fellow Protestants are delivered from such unheard of cruelty, and enliven our supplications at the Divine footstool that God will further break anti-Christian power, deliver his people and build up the church, and restore peace again unto the earth, for we may rest assured that the rod of the wicked shall nit always rest on the Lott of the Righteous, and though remote in bodily presence, a challenge to meet at the Divine footstool on these important errands is hereby sent you from

Dear Sir Yours in Christian spirit,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

P. S. 22. we have just now express arrived that the king of Prussia has defeated the Russians.

[Addressed]

To The rev'd Mr. Pomeroy
or to Mr. Wheelock
at Lebanon Connecticutt
By favour of the Rev'd Mr. Peters, IH.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdt's Letter Aug. 20, 1759.

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, May 17, 1760

REV'D & DEAR SIR.

I am favored with yours of the 17th Dcr. and congratulate you on the great and many successes with God has blessed our arms in America, and should rejoice if it proved a prelude to the dawn of gospel light among the benighted Heathen.

I observe what you hint regarding the approbation and leniency of the government relating to your Indian School, which doubtless will have some weight here, but will never succeed without our ministry writing to the respective governors for their sentiments, of the affair, which would not only be loosing time but subjecting you to the caprice of each governor, and tho a charter may be of extensive usefulness is always attended with a large expense. but in whatever method you think proper to proceed you may command all the service in my power.

I am very glad Mr. Pomeroy returned safe last winter hope the same Providence will attend him if Duty calls him out again this year also. I had a letter from Crown Point from good Mr. Brainard with some particulars of your affairs, and had a brother in law commanded the Bedford Man of War at Quebec¹ from whom I have heard much of the fertility of those parts we imagined to be a barren wilderness.

I hope a favourable opportunity will arise for engaging Genl. Johnson's interest to procure you some Indian youth, as the next likely means to gain on the natives, may God prosper all your endeavors to build up Zion.

You can have no better rule to judge of the society than by the persons they send you. the single point they keep in view is Episcopacy If that is promoted their secular interest is secured and if men have no religion at all they will naturally run into that which is the most fashionable, the most likely method to strengthen that party; and as your absence when the young clergy come here for spiritual gifts either the bishops hand conveys none or they are all lost in crossing the Atlantic Mr. Peters I fear is an instance of it for after ordination he started many more objections against the gospel than he did on his arrival, I really

¹ The Bedford was commanded by Capt. Thorpe Fowke (W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, 1898, iii. 206 note). Whether De Berdt married a sister of Capt. Fowke, or Capt. Fowke married a sister of De Berdt, it has been impossible to determine. For a notice of Capt. Fowke, who died in 1784 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, liv. 238), see J. Charnock, *Biographia Navalis* (1797), v. 173-175.

fear our clergy store their mind with those prejudices for the aversion they show to Mr. Whitefield and his friends is in reality from that principle.

I am very glad to find the publishing Mr. Davies sermon was so profitable to all my friends I thought at least the manner of introducing it into the world would give weight to Mr. Davies and his friends throughout your continent, and as you observe lett us work while it is day for the night cometh when no man can work.

A bloody scene seems to be opening in Europe, and Germany is likely to be the Aceldema great numbers of troops are raising and embarking from hence to check the torrent the French pour in there, but where they deal proudly, cruelly or deceitfully our God is infinitely above them and can easily disappoint them in their oppressive scheme there, as he did by their long threatened invasion of our coast, and the ravaging insults of Mon^r Thierot:¹

Lett us then take the advice of the Prophet sanctify the Lord God in our hearts lett him be our fear, lett him be our dread, and he shall be for a sanctuary and had he deigned to have given us up into the hands of our enraged and perfidious enemies surely he would not heve shewed all the kindness that the war of 1750 produced

But just as I am concluding we have the awful account that great part of Boston is consumed by fire,² a striking instance of the perishing nature of everything here below, I long for particulars, how it has fared with our Christian friends there and particularly with the medium of our conveyance, Mr. Smith, when you see Mr. Peters remember me to him and he may pay the 5sh. I lent him either to Mr. Nath. Harard [?] of New York or the aforesaid Mr. John Smith of Boston as best suits his convenience but I have hardly left room to assure you that I am

Dear and Rev'd Sir,

Your real Christian Friend,

DENNYS DEBERDT.³

[Addressed]

To

Mr Eleazer Wheelock,
at Lebanon

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdt.

Mr. Peters s. gr.

¹ François Thurot (1727–1760), a famous privateer.

² The fire occurred March 20, 1760: see Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxix. 1–132.

³ Dartmouth College MSS.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

MR WHEELOCK

ENFIELD Augst 29th. 1760

REV'D & DEAR SIR

I have here a little retirement from the busy sceens of London, and will embrace it to answer your favour of the 20th Novem which did not reach me above 2 mos since tho I think I have answered one of a later date and much the same contents

We cannot but rejoice with you on the remarkable success of the British arms on your Continent it is certainly just matter for admiration and praise and how much more important will still appear: if the light of the gospel should dawn among the benighted savages, and your attempt an earnest there of. I cannot but approve of the zeal and prudence of your undertaking.

By proper testimonials I believe a Charter might be obtained but it will be attempted with considerable expense, and you are the best judge of the real advantage that would probably accrue thereby.

As you observe if the thing is of God it shall stand, and he who is king in Zion will take care of securing scaffolding where he designs to erect a Church.

I observe what you hint of the uncertainty of conveyance and have never received any letter of yours but I answered it. You may committ any thing to the care of Mr. Smith of Boston he will safely convey it to me, and you doubtless have frequent Intercourse with that Capital. This gentleman is an acquaintance of good Mr Whitefield, and a favourer of Zion and takes pleasure in the stones thereof, and will lend you any assistance in your affair — Be assured that I am with very great esteem

Sir

Your real Friend and humble servant

DENNYS DE BERDT ¹

P. S. My love to Mr. Pomeroy. Pray where is Mr. Peters friend that came over to England for ordination? he personally knew you.

Mr. DeBerdt's Letter.

[Addressed]

To

The Rev'd Mr Eleazer
Wheeloock

In Lebanon

To the Care of Mr John Smith
Merchant in Boston

[Endorsed]

Dennys DeBerdt
Aug 1760¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Aug 31, 1761.

MR. WHEELOCK.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR.

Since I wrote to you I have mett the society and also writ¹ to Scotland to the committee there and they seem resolved to support Mr. Occom's mission £20 a year. and will propose it to the society who meet in Nov. and I hope to gett it allowed from Michaelmas.

I have also wrote to Mr. Hollis² and got a friend to talk to him, but could get him to promise nothing, but that he would consider of it. and he might pay the money perhaps for what was just, but always was a whimsical man having his head long since turned by what were called the French Prophets and will think of nothing but his enthusiastical Revelations

Dear Mr. Whitefield who is now got well enough to preach again sent me £25 — for the use of your Indian school which in our last to Mr. John Smith we desired him to pay to you, any other service in my power you may freely command — Rev'd Sir,

Your humble servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.³

[Addressed]

To Mr. Eleazer Wheelock in Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdt's Rec'd Dec. 30, 1761.

The Support of Mr. Occom's mission. 1761.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Oct. 20, 1761.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR.

I wrote to you by Califf both of the societies agreeing to allow Mr. Occom £20 sterling from during his mission to Oneidas and acquainted the Rev'd Mr. Bostwick⁴ of New York thereof also and hope it is a token for good that the great Son of Righteousness is about to shine bright and expend his healing wings for both on your western continent.

¹ See p. 461 note, below.² Thomas Hollis (1720–1774), the second Harvard College benefactor of that name.³ Dartmouth College MSS.⁴ The Rev. David Bostwick (1721–1763). The societies referred to are the Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England (London).

The olive branch of peace is now entirely withered and nothing to be heard in city and country but beating up for recruits as if the war was but just beginning. I hope the conduct of the French will be rewarded as Pharaoh's resoluteness in oppressing Israel was, until *all* his chariots and his horsesmen be drawn into and drown in the sea.

I heard nothing since from Mr. Hollis I sh'd be glad in any shape to serve good Mr. Edwards whose case is very hard.

Good Dear Mr. Whitefield is not yet able to preach, he eats drinks and sleeps, but cannot get up his spirit. even his own inability to preach affects him.

I thank you for recommending Mr. Peck [?], his orders shall be regarded with a peculiar attention as a friend of yours.

Good Mr. Smith is safe arrived here and seems in good health and spirit

Dear Sir,

Yours in our Com. Lord.

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To Mr. Eleazer Wheelock
At Lebanon, Connecticut.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdt's letter, Oct. 10, 1761.
Mr. Occom's £20 sterling.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, March 2d, 1762

I only received your favour of the 16th Nov. by the care of Mr. Smith's prentice copying of it, the original went overboard when the ship was taken I will transmitt the account of the favourable Reception Mr. Occum met with among the Oneidas as to the society at Edinburgh which I dare say will give them pleasure and encourage them to continue their support. I placed the £25 to Mr. Smith's account, and doubt not but you have long ere now received the whole of it and Mr. Whitefield has got something more the account of which Mr. Smith will bring with him, and in the interim sends his love to you.

I wish you success in all your noble enterprise for spreading the savour of the Redeemer's name among the benighted Heathen exalted enterprise superior to all the expeditions of earthly monarchs even to secure from the tyranny of the oppressor tho that is of no small importance, Its God's work and he will carry it on, when the sett time to enlarge

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

Zion's borders is come, as it certainly shall because a God of infinite faithfullness has promised it.

It is a pleasure to see some fruits of good Mr. Brainard. labours in your lovely little Indian girl, may it be an earnest! a first fruit unto God which may usher in a numerous offspring of willing subjects to the Prince of Peace.

I think it is right to secure some females to be proper consorts to the Christian Indian youth. For when they lay hold of God's [] promise is to them and to their children; as many as the Lord our God shall call. I am very glad to hear there is a Reformation, and a Religious concern, among the Indians where Mr. Gunn¹ resides; but they must be brought off their wild way of living and sett down and cultivate a spot of land, before they can be collected into assemblies to hear the gospel stately; may that God! who settles the solitary in families in due time accomplish it.

I am very glad to hear Mr. Ashop² is recovered from the follys of his immature way of thinking, it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace; the salutary effluires of which will sooner or later correct the crudities of the head. — his persevering benevolent carriage towards them must be a strong evidence of the Christian temper he recommends to them.

I find you are still called to live by faith for the support of your school, be not discouraged, it is of God I trust, and it shall stand; the as stated help there is from man, the more striking evidences you have, of the power, goodness, faithfullness and care of that kind Providence which has brought it thus far, and he will not forsake his own work; but as good Dr. Watts says of the work of God in the Land. Grace will complete what grace begins. Dear Mr. Whitefield has sent me a bell to forward to you; which I shall do by the first opportunity; which I believe will be heard two mile, so much is the good man's heart sett on the success of your labors [] lately had a letter from good Mr. Brainerd who I find has many difficulties to encounter, but yet is not discouraged; as he finds some success to his ministry, which he informs me is very extensive.

He longs to congratulate me on the Redemption of Martinico;³ however that may be, there is a surprising turn of Providence in the North; God by cutting off one turbulent spirit, seems to have quieted the north country; and thereby put a check to that dreadful effusion

¹ Elisha Gunn, an interpreter.

² Samuel Ashpo, an Indian: see Chase, History of Dartmouth College, i. 41.

³ Martinique was taken by the British in February, 1762.

of blood which female, may I not say, *infernal* revenge had meditated; and by a new compact there, counteracts the family compact between France and Spain which cannot fail to alarm all Europe;¹ and they may be taken in their own craftiness, for Spain seems to have grafted on a Rotten stock, which we hope will fail under them and like Egypt and the Children of Israel make their loins to tremble, nothing could be more unprovoked than the Spanish War, nor, nothing more necessary than carrying it on with vigor; which the whole nation seems resolved to support; and our armaments prodigious, answerable to the sense of the nation; and are now ready to sail: may God go with them, and humble the oppressor and make their proud helpers stoop under them; that your continent may also be cleared of the encroaching vermin, which had they prevailed would have cut out your vitals; but here is our comfort the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!

My best wishes for success attend all your noble undertakings for the glory of God and the good of souls.

Yours in Christian friendship,
DENNYS DE BERDT.²

[Addressed]

To-

The Rev'd Mr. Wheelock
at Lebanon
Connecticut
Capt. Denerson IDC. [?]

[Endorsed]

Mr. Dennys DeBerd
from London
March 1762

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Apr. 20, 1762.

MR. ELEAZER WHEELOCK,
REV'D AND DEAR SIR.

The account you sent me of Mr. Occom and the other Indians, as well as the state of your school has excited many to not only wish and pray for its success but several of Mr. Whitefield's friends have contributed thereunto and paid into my hands on the account of your Indian school £49. Mar. 20. and a friend of mine £1; 1; which we have placed to Mr. Smith's acco't and he will pay it you on his arrival, Mr. Whitefield has also sent you a bell which you hinted was much wanted which Mr.

¹ See p. 437 note, below.

² Dartmouth College MSS. The MS is torn in places.

Smith will forward to you in a Cash E + W No. 1 and hope it will answer your ends any further accounts of the success of your noble undertakings for the good of souls will be highly acceptable to — Dear Sir,

Your humble servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To the Rev'd Mr. Eleazer Wheelock,
In Lebanon,
Connecticutt.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdt's letter, Apr. 30 1762. Mr. DeBerdt's Apr. 20, 1762.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON. July 15th, 1762.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR

I am favoured with yours of the 25th Mar. and forwarded what you enclosed immediately and shall with pleasure serve the interests of your school and if all mine arrive safe you will see I have not neglected but as I keep no copies of my letters for friendship. I can only refer you to them.

I shall long to hear of the success of Mr. Occom's mission this year hope you will favour me with an account at his return, Mr. Pemberton² gives me a pleasing account of the subscription set on foot in Boston to support missions to the Indians hope it is a token for good that God has a people to gather from among them. We have here three Cherokees but alas they are only introduced to the scenes of folly and vanity, luxury and superstition with which this city abounds, which must give them very wrong ideas of the Christian religion, especially if they form their judgements thereof from our cathedral worship.

Mr. Smith left England the 30th April with a fine wind hope I shall hear you mett with him in Boston, In May, as we dearly hope to hear of his arrival there.

I am much concerned to hear of your bad state of health, may God restore you in much mercy to your family, your people, and the poor Indian youths, whose welfare lies so near your heart there is few like minded with you, who so tenderly care for their welfare.

God is still in the course of his Providence rebuking our enemies the

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

² The Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton (H. C. 1721). See Chase, History of Dartmouth College, i. 30.

two Marshalls Soubise & D'Etres¹ have been surprised in their quarters by Prince Ferdinand and defeated. Two of our frigates have taken a Spanish register ship estimated at two millions sterling and now our expectation is on the stretch to hear what God will yet do for us, at the Havanah² and the south part of your continent, for while the French remain on any part of it you can have no complete peace and they will also frustrate your noble designs for evangelizing the poor natives, a design of the utmost importance! for the success of which the children of God here are holding up the hands of prayer but alas how small a number and as they are taken to the world of praise how few are their successors! the gathering of souls among us is but like the gleanings of the vintage and shaking of the olive tree, each seek their own things. few, very few, the things of Jesus Christ. however there is a remnant, may you be the happy instrument of increasing their number, and among them may I and mine be found!

We have lately buried my venerable pastor a man mighty in prayer, the compiler of the Call from the City to the Country, some of which my friends the beginning of the war circulated in America, and peculiarly exemplary in a prudent [?] introducing serious conversations, in which exemplary conduct he has left few equals.³ good Mr. White⁴ used to stile him the Bishop of our denomination. that good man is fully recovered, and gone on a tour to Holland for the establishment of his health, that he will hardly see America this war,

Dear Sir, Yours in the Bond of the Gospel,
DENNYS DE BERDT.⁵

[Addressed]

To Mr. Eleazer Wheelock
In Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Dennys DeBerdt, July 15th, 1762.

¹ Charles de Rohan (1715-1787), Prince de Soubise, and Louis Charles César Le Tellier (1697-1774), Duc d'Estrées.

² Havana was taken by the British in August, 1762.

³ It would be of interest to identify this pamphlet and its author, but unfortunately the data are insufficient. The death on May 31, 1762, of the "Rev. Mr. Barker, an eminent dissenting minister," is recorded in the London Magazine for June (xxxi. 341), and perhaps this was De Berdt's "venerable pastor." If so, it was the Rev. John Barker (1682-1762), of whom there is a notice in the Dictionary of National Biography. The Rev. George Benson, "an eminent and learned dissenting minister" (London Magazine, xxxi. 229), died in April of the same year, but as he was born in 1699 he was scarcely old enough to have been called "venerable."

⁴ Doubtless an error for Whitefield, who was then in Holland (L. Tyerman, Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, ii. 453).

⁵ Dartmouth College MSS.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Oct. 16, 1762.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR,

I duly received yours of the 15th of July and despatched those enclosed thereby as directed, and shall rejoice to hear a good account of Mr. Occom's mission this year. Mr. Bostwick sent me an excellent sermon of Mr. Muir's¹ of Long Island, preached at his ordination and rejoice to find there is such a love to gospel truths among you, may the little leaven, leaven the whole lump.

Mr. Whitefield is now finely recovered and preaches with a great degree of constancy.

We congratulate you on our new marvelous successes hope it will be overruled for good and that this year will also clear your continent of the French virmine by the reduction of Louisiana and that the children of God in America may sit under their own vine and fig trees none to make them afraid and tranquility and outward liberty prevails, the fetters of sin and snares if Satan may be broke from the necks of the inhabitants by the success of a preached gospel.

Dear Sir, Your humble servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.²

[Addressed]

To the Rev'd Mr. Wheelock in
Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Dennys DeBerdt, Oct. 1762,

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Apr. 26, 1763.

MR. WHEELOCK.

DEAR SIR.

Since my last I have not received any from you, this therefore is only to acquaint you I have by Mr. Lesley's direction sent a trunk of books for him to your address and a little parcell the trunk would not hold, which will be sent by Mr. Smith of Boston.

I always rejoice in the success of all your noble attempts to promote

¹ "Muir's" is doubtless a mistake for "Buell's." See p. 323 note 1, above.² Dartmouth College MSS.

the interest of the glorious Redeemer, and giving me an account then as always gives fresh pleasure to — Dear Sir

Your humble servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

P. S. I have also sent with care of Mr. Smith for you a case of books E + W No. 5 from Mr. Forfitt's brother for you to give away among the poor as you think will best promote the glory of God. and the good of precious souls which I know is your delightful work —

The freight is 91 lawful money.

[Addressed]

To Mr. Eleazer Wheelock
In Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Dennys DeBerdt, Apr. 26, 1763.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, June 20, 1765.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Though I have not written to you a long time, I often both think and speak of you with affection and esteem, as the apostle of the Indians,

¹ Dartmouth College MSS. The following letter is obtained from the same source:

BOSTON Sept. 6th: 1764

REV'D & DEAR SIR

My present indisposition would forbid my writing at this time; But as I just received from Mr. De Berdt a letter with the following words I forward them & am most respectfully

Your obedient hum. Serv.

JOHN SMITH.

"Mr. Wheelock's Institution is certainly good & promises singular advantages "to the Interest of Christ in your western world. Tho' we learn by the last "packet The Indians are still making degradations on the southern colonies.

[Addressed]

To
The Rev'd Eleazer Wheelock
To
Lebanon
Connecticut.

[Endorsed]

Letter from Mr.
John Smith
Boston Dec. 2. 1764

and I trust God will prosper and reward your labors of love to those poor heathens.

General Lyman is aiming at a grant to settle a large tract of land in the heart of the Indian country, and intends to include a charter for you if he can obtain it in his grant; but the unsettled state of the king's ministry has been a great difficulty in his mind. And now he is at a stand in expectation of a thorough change, and we hope for the advantage of America, which has lately been very hardly borne upon, and not by them treated with the tenderness of an affectionate mother country, greatly to the embarrassment of trade, and hardships on the merchant.

Mr. Whitefield has paid me £100 for your use, which I have placed to *Mr. S—'*s¹ credit, according to his letter, which he will pay you.

Rev. Sir,

Yours, in christian friendship,

DENNIS DE BERDT.²

DE BERDT TO LORD HALIFAX

MY LORD

The Inhabitants of America and Merchants here who are connected with them, still look on your Lordship as their patron who has the welfare of the Colonies at Heart: from a just sense of their Importance to their Mother Country.

Altho your Lordship is engaged in a more extensive service you will not be an unconcern'd Spectator of the Hardships the Colonies must suffer if the late regulations concerning their Trade are carried into execution; and the damage that will thereby accrue to Great Britain.

Waving the consideration of the priviledges of Englishmen for the preservation of which intire and uncontrouled the Forefathers of the present inhabitants preferr'd an inhospitable desart to their native Soil, and the several Charters which were the Condition (under the Santion of Royal Authority) of the settling those Colonies; of all which they are exceedingly and justly tenacious and Jealous, tho as zealously affected, and as loyal Subjects to his Majesty as any in his Dominions.

I will only consider how these New Regulations if put in execution or not repealed will opperate on our Commerce.

That any difficulties should be put on the Sale of American Lumber

¹ Doubtless John Smith.

² Wheelock's Memoirs, p. 263.

is unaccountable, when that Country is covered with Timber, and cannot be cultivated until that is cut down and disposed of but must become an incumbrance instead of an usefull acquisition, this is stunting the growth of the Colonies, by the growth of which only we can reap advantage by an Accession of Territorys.

Rather open all the Marketts that can be found for American Timber as well as the whole produce of that Continent and allow a Bounty for importing it into Great Britain, who now pays large Sums of money for Timber from the North.

Which is the interest of Great Britain? To pay a Bounty to her own subjects in America or the whole value of the timber we have to Foreigners?

The Duty on Wines will immediately affect the Fishery as they are all purchas'd of Popish Countries by their consumption of Fish and in whatever measure they affect the Fishery, in that proportion they affect the source of our Riches & Naval Power.

The prohibition of Foreign spirits and the large Duty laid on Molasses is also a Tax on the Fishery, which in those cold Countries cannot be carried on without the use of Spirituous Liquors: whatever therefore renders spirituous Liquors dear is a burthen on that Trade which is of more value to us than the Mines of Mexico and Peru; Is it not an unaccountable mistake in politicks to clog the greatest source of our Riches and Naval power?

What the particular difficulties are which this New Regulation will bring on the provinces you will best learn from their several memorials; but this is Evident it will Diminish their Commerce to England, for want of a capacity to pay for the Goods they would otherways take; and put them on manufacturing necessaries for themselves.

The Goods I export to the Continent of America yearly employs 2,000 Men Women & Children, suppose in the City of London there are thirty Merchants who in common export the like quantity and many export much more our exports from London then at a modest computation must employ 60,000 p Hands, how amazing then must be the whole number of Manufacturers employ'd by the exports from Bristol Liverpool & all the Out ports added together.

Is such a Commerce to be trifled with and endangered? (I may say the most advantageous left to Great Britain) which employs at least 100,000 poor, who if unemployed must be reduced to one of these destructive necessities either to fall on the Lands of the Nobility & Gentry for support or go to America and set up their respective manufactures there, which reckoning 300 Working Days to the Year, and estimating

their Labour at one Shilling a Day would be an annual Loss to Great Britain of £1,500,000.

Laying any difficulties and burthens on the Continent or Islands of America is giving the Cramp if not the dead palsey to their Commerce & Navigation, and the Dead Palsey in a Limb, must inevitably affect the whole Body.

It is not to be supposed this destruction of our commerce will come on us immediately, or at ounce, no! Trade will die by a gradual consumption, which will be as fatal & certain as a sudden apoplexy; and when Trade is once got out of its old Channel, it is like the course of a River that never returns more.

Your Lordship will say what are the advantages that must compensate for all these destructive Evils? I know of none but that the Lumber by having but one open Markitt may come cheaper to the Islands, and the materials for Rum being advanced to the Continent, the Rum also of the Islands will bear a better price but this is distressing the Continent to support the Opulence & luxury of the Islands, which notwithstanding the affected Epithet of poor planters is undeniably exceeding great.

The avowed advantages is bringing a sum of money into the Treasury, that will in the operation be found a deception; for the support of a sufficient number of Officers & Cruisers to prevent smuggling, on that extensive Coast will devour the whole Duty, and one penny p Gallon on the Molasses, colected with the good will of the people, will produce more neat money than 3 pence collected by the dint of Officers, for it is always found in fact, raising the Duties lessens the Revenues.

But supposing this sum should arise to the most sanguine expectation of the auther of these measures can it compensate for the non cultivation of the wild country of America?

Discouraging the Fishery of America our most valuable Treasure?

Creating fears and jealousies in the minds of thousands of his Majesties faithful & Loyal Subjects, on a tract of Land above 1000 Miles extent? and

Hazarding the gradual loss of a commerce that circulates a Million & half yearly, and prevents 100,000 manufacturers from either falling on the landed estates for support, or leave their native Land to seek employment where Trade will be encouraged?

Sure these considerations will rouse your Lordships attention & engage your influence with the Ministry to adopt a system of Politicks which will promote the mutual advantage, Esteem, and affection that ought always to subsist between the Colonies & their Mother Country:

to which I may venture to say they are strongly attached, so strongly, that nothing but *oppression* will ever weaken.

Colonies seated on so large a tract of land as if Markets were found for their produce, the Inhabitants would improve and cultivate to the encreasing and unspeakable advantage of Great Britain, the importance of the Subject I hope will be a sufficient apology for this trouble given Your Lordship by &c^a.¹

Copy of Mr De Berdt's Letter to Lord Halifax.

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

MY LORD

It gave me great pleasure to see in the publick papers You are nominated² the first Lord of Trade; it put me in mind of a Similar occurrance in the late War, when the whole Continent of America were uneasy at the Spiritless measures, and fruitless Campaigns in the back Country; which consumed their men without anoying the Enemy; the commanding officer could not get a man raised by any of the Colonies.

A new Minister by an animating Letter to each of the Provinces gave a turn to their drooping Spirits; Men were immediately raised & supported; under Divine providence the whole face of affairs were changed, which issued in the destruction of the French power in Canada; and that Minister³ by all the people there, loved & esteem'd as their great deliverer.

Your Lordship likewise takes the Helm of Trade when our commerce in America is in the utmost confusion; by the mistaken policy that dictated the late Regulations: and I hope by the blessing & direction of the same providence, you will be the means of Retrieving the Commerce, the harmony, and affection that once subsisted between America & her mother Country; to which they have naturally an affectionate

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This letter is not dated, but it must have been written before the letter which next follows: see p. 432, below.

The ten letters in this correspondence drawn from the Dartmouth MSS are calendared in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th Report, app. part x. pp. 16, 19, 25, 29, 34, 48, 58. I am indebted to the present Earl of Dartmouth for his courtesy in sending those ten letters to the Public Record Office for the purpose of being copied.

² Rockingham's ministry was formed in July, 1765, and Dartmouth was appointed July 19.

³ William Pitt.

and warm attachment; and you will become the object of their affection, the joy of their Heart, and the subject of their prayers, that the Divine Blessing may ever rest on you, yours & your Royall Master.

That our Commerce is diminished I can speak from my own knowledge, this year I have sent to America £10,000 less than for years past, and it is universally the case with all our Merchants, which fixing them at 30 as I did in my calculation to Lord Halifax,¹ our London Exports are already deminished £300,000 what ever may amuse you with Entries at the Custom House this is fact, and can you wonder that thousands of poor are out of work, and ripe for tumult & confusion? The Spital field Weavers are a recent instance thereof.

The reason of diminishing their imports is the scarcity of a medium of commerce &, by their inabilitys to pay for what they have, they are obliged to send Specie to England, which taking the whole Quantity on the Continent is not near sufficient to pay one 20th part of their Debt.

What mischief must then arise from curbing trade with the Spaniards, who take off the surplus of American provisions, and are their only resource for Dollars?

This inability to pay for their goods lays them under a necessity of setting up Manufactures of their own, which by degrees will improve, & in time Rival ours.

The setting up Manufactures, will take off their attention from cultivating the Country which they have no encouragement to do unless Markets can be found for their produce, that being already more than sufficient for their own consumption.

Their very timber is restrain'd in going from port to port and not admitted into Ireland but it must first be landed in England.

The burthenes on the Fishery are numerous, but to give it a Vital stab, the French in return for the 3^d p Gallon laid on their Molosses have laid a duty of 8/ p Quintale on our Fish brought to their Islands; to see the greatest source of our Riches & Naval power languish under such a stab must grieve every Englishman.

What adantages will be gained by all these Measures? why a *puny* sum brought into the Treasury, collected at a *vast expence*, and being against the genious of the people and contrary to the Liberty given them in their several charters, makes them look on their Mother Country as oppressors, rather than Cherisher of her Colonies, this creates animosity & hatred, and alienates the Hearts of a Million of people from the Administration, whose mutual interest is mutual affection, to Your Lord-

¹ See p. 429, above.

ship, I will allude to a text of Holy Writ "Fathers provoke not your Children to wrath least they be discouraged — and are these trifling Considerations?

There is a depth in Trade policy, as well as state politicks, and the advantages drawn from America are to arise from Commerce, not from taxes, therefore encouraging and promoting their commerce is true Trade policy; when the Duty of three pence p Gallon was contrary to all the remonstrances that could be made, and arguments brought against it, laid on; the Minister little thought the French would make reprisals, by laying so large a Duty on our Fish, which would we take off the Duty on their Meloses, its a Question if they will ever alter.

The Stamp Duty is a very heavy Burthen on those infant Colonies, and is like hanging a weight on a little Finger, because it is born by a Broad p^r of Shoulders.

These things you will easily admitt have thrown the Commerce with America into Confusion. I hope the restoring of it is an Honour reserved to your Lordship, and that it may, is the sincere wish of

My Lord

Your Lordship's

Obedient humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Endorsed]

Rec^d July 1765

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH¹

MY LORD

I took the Liberty to Represent to your Lordship the Distressed State of Commerce in America and the Fatal Effect it must have in Great Britain

I received yesterday a Letter from Boston that I think fully proves my Assertion that Trade in America is in the utmost Confusion

Popular Representations are often Fallacious, If the Facts are true things are often exaggerated by Passion and Prejudice, but Letters from one Friend to another without any View but that of Representing

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This letter was printed in the Boston Gazette of November 18, 1765, supplement, p. 1/1, preceded by the following:

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

The following Letter lately wrote by an eminent Merchant in London, to a noble Lord in the present Ministry, relative to the distressing Situation of the Colonies, I doubt not will be highly agreeable to the Publick.

naked Truth may be relied on, when the Veracity of the Person is unquestionable which is the Case before us, M^r Cary is well known to M^r Whitefield,¹ and a Person not back in his Accounts with me, who sends excuses instead of Remittance, as plainly appear, but the natural Breathings of a mind oppressed with the ruins of his Country, can any Taxes you can draw from America compensate for the misery they groan under, and the ruin of many Merchants here, can this be his Majesty's Interest? or is this prudent Treatment from a Mother Country?

I send Your Lordship the Letter itself, (which please to return me as it contains Business) that you may see my Correspondents Native Sentiments without Disguise. I have only to add that some of my Letters say that where persons are sued for Debts that have real Estates, they are obliged to sell them by Auctions advertized in every News paper Considerably less than their usual Value, that the New Regulations and Taxes have sunk the Value of his Majesty's Dominions in America 20 p. Cent.

My Lord

Your Lordships most

Obedient Humble servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.²

Artillery Court
Aug^t 6th 1765

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

MY LORD

There are three things in which I would be more particular than I could be in the short hints I sent Your Lordship, and without an Intention to reflect on any one Minister, as I am ignorant who were the Authors of the late Measures, just delineate them as they lye in my own mind, for Your Lordship's Consideration.

The popular cry was, that as we had been at a great expence to drive away the French and save the Americans, it was but reasonable they should refund part of that expence.

This pretence took with many unthinking people, who did not consider, that wherever the Enemy made their strongest Efforts, there the grand expence would arise.

Suppose this effort had been made in any other part of the British

¹ The Rev. George Whitefield.

² Dartmouth MSS.

Dominions, for instance had they landed in Scotland and made a rapid progress as they did in the late Rebellion, would you after the war was over, have tax'd all the Counties from which they were driven, with any new tax to refund that particular expence, on those who during the course of the War furnished a reasonable quota both of men & money, exerted themselves to the utmost, and our whole expence centred again in England, as all the money spent on our Fleet, and in our Colonies certainly did; doth not such a demand appear very absurd? was not this expence incur'd to preserve his Majesty's Dominions, and preserve our Trade, as well as secure American property, & thereby secure our own, so intimately connected with them?

What sums have the last War been expended to preserve Hanover (which never return to Great Britain more,) do you now the War is over make a Demand on them, or any other of the German Princes for saving them from the Ravages of the French?

Why then should our Infant Colonies, labouring under their several provincial debts contracted for the common cause, and who furnish'd men for every Expedition, be singled out & loaded with such a Burthen, a burthen far superior to their ability? a Burthen which will eventually terminate on England, which every Merchant connected with America, and the Thousands of Manufacturers employ'd by those Merchants must also feel, under which they will groan, and by which they will be ruined.

Another thing is sending Troops to defend America, which indeed has a great appearance of care over them, but really is as absurd as it is needless. To send Regular Troops to a People who in a former War not only defended themselves, but fitted out an Expedition, which succeeded in taking the French capital fortress of Louisburgh, & thereby furnish'd their Mother Country with a premium to purchase Peace.

A people who, in the last War without any regular Troops to assist them defeated the French Regulars under Deska¹w, and had they been timely supported would have drove the French out of Canada, without that heavy expence which is now complain'd of and America called on to refund; an expence which was cheifly occasioned by the supine neglect & timmid efforts of the Ministry of her Mother Country, which gave the French time to pour in Troops on the Continent of America.

Can this People with nothing but Indians behind them, from whom they have defended themselves 100 years, when French regulars are intirely removed from the Continent, have any occasion for regular

¹ Dieskau was defeated and captured by Johnson at Lake George on September 8, 1755.

troops to defend them? if they are not necessary it is creating a large expence to carry & support an useless, nay I am sorry to say, a dissolute sett of Men to live in Idleness among them, and deprave the manners of the People, which is of no small importance in Infant colonies, where the utmost industry is necessary to their own well being, and their utility to their mother Country.

If the calling on the Americans to refund expences neglect and timidity occasioned, & expences which arose for the defence of his Majesty's Dominions, and the Security of our commerce, & if regular troops are not necessary for the defence of that people, the whole system of levying Taxes falls to the ground, and there is no pretence for doing of it in violations of their Charters, Charters that will ever be held sacred by all true Englishmen, especially by those whose forefathers fled into the Wilderness to avoid the intollerable oppression, & arbitrary power of the faithless Stuarts, who look upon the peoples charters as waste paper.

It appears the late Ministry were determined to load America with Taxes without any regard to their Charters, this they must needs think would set hard on a brave and free people, whose liberty inviolably maintain'd would always occasion an accession of People to cultivate our extensive acquisitions, as well as conciliate the minds of the Canadians to an English Government, Taxes would I say set hard on them, especially such as would impoverish the whole country, occasion great discontent & animosity, therefore to stifle the popular odium, and the ferment of *above a Million* of oppress'd people, and not for their defence, land forces were necessary to be quarter'd among them, & Cruisers on their coast to prevent illicit Trade; but in reallity to keep the Colonies in awe, and carry into execution the oppressive measures; which some people have spoke out, the Colonies are growing rich, & powerful, & must be kept under; which I believe your lordship has heard.

How absurd is this? doth not, & will not, all the Riches & power of the Colonies centre in England, & make us rich and powerful, has it not really done so already? on the contrary if you stunt the growth of the Colonies, don't you hurt yourselves? is giving the dead palsey to the limbs the way to promote the health of the Body?

What ever fallacious reasoning may be urged, there is a mutual interest between Great Britain & her colonies, which will ever unite them; while sentiments of Liberty prevail and are persued, & the monster oppression banish'd from the Heart & Head of an English ministry, & they act in Character as Englishmen.

Here is a continental connection worth maintaining & cultivating; which if duly improved will furnish us with the treasures of the South,

& the necessaries of the North; that riches & power, which alone can secure us, by *a family compact of our own*, which will bid defiance to the compact of Popish powers.¹

The last thing I shall trouble Your Lordship with at present is the equity of *our* taxing America, which I will fairly state as it lies in my mind.

All the Colonies but Georgia & Nova-Scotia, were originally settled by persons drove from their native Country, in those reigns which by oppression stain'd the glory of Britain; though by the like oppressive measures she was supply'd with manufacturers from the neighbouring continent to our unspeakable advantage.

Yet oppression was so much the taste of those times, that it drove out a number of the King's subjects, who took shelter in a Desart that they might enjoy their Civil & Religious Liberties, uncontroul'd & unmolested; they were then in a state of nature, under no civil government but what they form'd themselves, when they had establish'd their several Settlements, out of regard to their mother country they sent home their several agents to tender their new acquisitions to their mother country, on certain conditions then agreed on by the several parties; & ratified by their respective Charters, which they look'd on as sacred; & make their boast of like our Magna Charta of England.

If you consider the thousands that have been expended in settling Georgia & Nova-Scotia, you will better judge of the merit of the other Colonies which settled themselves without any expence to their mother Country; without such a surrender therefore Great Britain could have no pretence to any authority over them, for the right was founded in compact, & the same compact that gives Great Britain any rightful authority over them, secures the privileges stipulated in that compact; which is the sole right of *taxing themselves* by their own Representatives, in which all their charters agree however in other circumstances they may differ, therefore any attempt to break in upon their Charters, must meet with the same reception from them as an English ministry would find from a violation of our Magna Charta; can you wonder then at any thing that has happen'd in Virginia, or in any of the other Provinces, by invectives against a Ministry that violates their Magna Charta, and deprives them of the priviledges of Englishmen, an Army therefore is necessary to carry such measures into execution tho not necessary for y^e people's defence.

¹ An allusion to the Family Compact, a treaty made in 1761 between the Bourbon dynasties of France, Spain, and the Two Sicilies, especially against England and Austria.

It was always the ambition and glory of the House of Hanover to maintain priviledges of Englishmen inviolable, and it will be a standing mark of Infamy on any Minister that stains that glory by the least violation of them in America.

I submit to your Lordship's determination which is his Majesty's interest, to rule in the Hearts of a free people in America as well as in England; or by destroying their medium of Commerce which they have found useful for above 100 years, and by laying Burthens on them which they cannot but look upon as acts of arbitrary power which makes them Slaves instead of Englishmen?

If at any time there is a necessity of raising money from the Colonies, let it be intimated by the several Governors to their respective assemblies, it was anually the case during the War, it will be chearfully done, and preserve *that natural deep veneration & love* which they bear their King and Mother Country.

If the facts represented to Your Lordship appear evident, and the reasoning just, their importance will apologize for this great freedom taken with Your Lordship in opening the unreserved Sentiments of
My Lord

Your Lordships

obedient Humb. Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.

My hand being Difficult to Read I ordered my Clerk to Transcribe it.¹

[Endorsed]

Rec^d Sept^r 5. 1765.

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This letter was printed in S. Sayre's "The Englishman deceived; a Political Piece: wherein Some very important Secrets of State are briefly recited, And offered to the Consideration of the Publick. . . . London, Printed, 1768. Salem: Re-printed . . . 1768," pp. 24-30. Sayre does not give the name of the person to whom it was written and wrongly dates it "November, 1765." Sayre also printed in the same pamphlet De Berdt's memorial to Lord Shelburne (see pp. 448-450, below), and introduced the letters with this sentence: "The following Letters, presented not long since to a noble Lord, by an old, firm, steady friend to the constitution, whose abilities enabled him to make the clearest observations, upon many years great experience will confirm this opinion" (p. 24). The pamphlet was published anonymously, but that it was written by Sayre is proved by a letter from Esther De Berdt to Joseph Reed dated May 20, 1768:

Sayre . . . has been very busy in writing his political piece, and is so now in sending them to the most considerable of the nobility and House of Commons, by the desire of his patron, General Oglethorpe, who has a very high opinion of Sayre's understanding and genius. I am so really his friend that I begin to fear the

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

Extract of a Letter from M^r John Rhea Merch^t dated "Philadelphia Oct^r 11th 1765.

"Indeed we must call aloud upon every Friend of America to write & "exert themselves to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act, & also a dismis- "sion of our Guard De Costas, who block up our ports worse than a "common Enemy — I will give you only one instance of the Tiranny "of those Cruisers — Pensacola is conveniently scituated for a Trade "with the Spaniards from La Vera Cruize, upon which account I sup- "pose a hundred thousand pounds worth of English Goods have been "sent there from New York & this place in expectation of a Trade being "open'd there & by encouragement of the Governor for that purpose. "This Summer a Spanish Vessell came there with half a Million of hard "Dollars to buy those English Goods & the Governour consented to "let her trade; But the Capt^t of a Man of War there declar'd that if she "offer'd to land one Dollar he would seize the Vessel immediately — "upon which the poor Spaniard was oblig'd to return home with his "money, & the English Merchants mortified with the loss of selling their "Goods — and render'd unable to make remittances for them — Now "had she been suffer'd to Trade all those dollers would in six Months "time have been in England as Remittances — and what injury cou'd "that have been to the Nation.

"We hope the London Merchants will unite their most vigorous "efforts, to get our Burthens removed. And they with ourselves will "soon be able to put on another Countenance — If no relief is had I "know not what will become of us. No medium of Trade will be left

effect this applause may have on his mind, but perhaps the Critical Reviewers will prevent the bad consequence, as they ever oppose books on that side of the question. I fancy the author will be guessed by those two letters of my dear father (Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 129).

The Boston Gazette of August 8, 1768, contained an "Extract from a Pamphlet lately printed in LONDON, intituled, the ENGLISHMAN DECEIVED" (p. 1/1).

The letter in the text was also printed in the Boston Gazette of December 30, 1765, where it fills the entire first page of the supplement, preceded by the following:

Messieurs EDES & GILL,
AS you inserted in your Gazette of Nov. 18, a Letter wrote by an eminent Merchant in London, to a noble Lord in the present Ministry; your publishing the following Second Letter, relative to the distressed Situation of the Colonies, I doubt not will be as highly agreeable to the Public.

"among us — no sourse for remittances — our hands tyed & what can
"we do "

Extract of a Letter from Jos^h Reed Esq^r dated "Trenton Oct^r 5th 1765.

"This leads me in return for the publick news you give me to tell you
"how we stand affected here: and I assure you it is a most critical and
"interesting period — a flame of opposition to the Stamp Act has run
"thro' all the Colonies, which I every moment expect to hear has broke
"out by burning the Stamps — What the issue will be is hard to tell —
"but it appears to me the whole Country is ripe for Insurrections Riot &
"Confusion, and should some resolute Fellow blow the Trumpet of
"Sedition (for such I suppose it would be call'd on your side the Atlan-
"tick) thousands would join him. We expect a total Stagnation of all
"Kinds of Business after the 1st of November. The Gen^t of the Law
"have agreed to do no bussiness that will require Stamps till we hear
"what prospect there is of redress — so that there will be no methods
"to recover debts or carry on any proceedings till that time. The most
"cool & dispasionate people dread the consequences of attempting to
"introduce them, for such is the fixed, rooted aversion to them that
"nothing but force will make them go down. No officer dares hold
"any post under the Act & we are now in a state of alarming suspense."

MY LORD

The Letters out of which the above extracts are taken, I recd yesterday, by which you may judge how fatal the late measures have been and are like to be; and how easy it is to throw a Trade into confusion but not so easy to retrieve it, for I fear if any orders have been sent to the Cruisers, they have not yet reach'd them. If Trade with the Spaniards is prevented or falls into the hands of the French & Dutch (neither of whom will refuse Dollars) it may never return to us, & then Florida will not only be useless from its scituuation & Soil but a great Incumbrance, and great expence to supply it with Inhabitants whom the Climate will continually destroy if they attempt to labour, as was the case for many years in Georgia, untill they employ'd Negroes; but make it the Market of the Spaniards, you see by this instance the Treasure it will bring to England thro' the Continent of America; if not interrupted by oppression, and can any taxes compensate such a loss? or equal the mischief that must arise from the universal Tumults of that extensive Country; and the General discontent of the Merchants and Manufacturers here

which I assure your Lordship is very Great & will be severly felt this Winter all over the Kingdom. Will not his Majesty's benevolence to his people for which he is so remarkable induce him to give some hint from the Throne in favour of America. It would prodigiously endear him to the People there who are from their Cradle taught Loyalty to the House of Hanover, and affection to their Mother Country with a delicate sense of English Liberty.

Your Lordships
Obedient Humble Servant
DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

Decem^r 3^d 1765.

[Addressed]

To the Right Honour^{ble} Lord Dartmouth

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

MY LORD

I saw a Letter by the last Ship from New York which gives a very modest moving Account of the situation of Affairs in America, which I thought it my duty to communicate to your Lordship in its native simplicity.

Extract of a Letter from M^r Will^m Donaldson of New York.

"The face of money is hardly to be seen in this Country, every man "is suing his Neighbour which produces daily Bankruptsy & the most "pitiable scenes of distress; a Farm in this Neighbourhood was sold a "few weeks agoe by the sheriff for £350 which the owner refused £1200 "for 18 M^{os} agoe, such is the alteration of times here, owing chiefly to "the scarcity of money & distress on Commerce, & these owing to the "late measures of the ministry, which if not discontinued will ruin this "Country, & England will feel the effects of it.

You Sir, may Judge what Effects England must feel, and *Immediately* feel, when I acquaint your Lordship, I have been Informed that America owes England Six Millions sterling I sett it in my own mind at four, but it seems I am under in my estimate, to have six Million stoped in its Circulation must bring distress & ruin on multitudes both of merchants & Manufacturers, not in one particular Country but throughout the whole Kingdom.

At the Peace of Aix-La-Chapel² it was esteem'd an object that after

¹ Dartmouth MSS.

² In 1748.

the taking of Bergen op Zoom the French had it in their power to overrun Holland, who were so connected with us in Commerce, that it would be the ruin of our Merchants. Is not the reason stronger against oppressing America? will not the Thousands of Poor who will be unemployed this Winter be ripe for Tumult & Mischief? & will the French be Idle Spectators to such scenes of confusion as will arise both at Home & in America; we have no reason to expect such a favour, & they have ever been too eagle eyed to miss an opportunity of Anoying us, nor must we expect it, while we are rivals in Trade & Power, that the single Question seems to be, shall we relieve America or bring destruction on ourselves.

I think I may venture to say neither the Circumstances nor Facts are at all exaggerated by My Lord

Your Lordships obedient

Humble servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To the Right Honourable Lord Dartmouth.

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

MY LORD

The Inclosed Letter² wrote by four Members of the Assembly and wrote with so much Temper and Candour that it would not I thought be unacceptable to your Lordship, as well as an Extract out of another Letter both Received today.

Your Lordships

Obed^t Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.³

Fryday 4 Clock

[Endorsed]

M^r De Berdt, Feby 7. 1766.

¹ Dartmouth MSS. Apparently written late in 1765.

² The "Inclosed Letter," signed by James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Gray, dated December 20, 1765, is printed in Writings of Samuel Adams, i. 61-71, and also in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 6-13. The "Extract" is from a letter dated Charlestown, December 21, 1765.

³ Dartmouth MSS.

DE BERDT TO JOSEPH REED

LONDON, March 18th, 1766

DEAR SIR —

I doubt not but this will be welcome to you on more accounts than one, especially as it brings you an account of the complete repeal of the Stamp Act, which we send by a vessel hired on purpose to ease the minds of our friends in America as soon as possible, by a general letter to each Province. I hoped it might give you some weight in the Province to have a particular letter by the Merchants' Express, which also gives me an opportunity of immediately answering yours of the 13th January, per Packet. . . . I am very glad to hear your health is restored, which will better enable you to bear the burthen Providence at present lays upon you. . . . I am glad to hear what I wrote pleases my friends. I wrote it in the sincerity of my heart to serve them, and your showing it prudently does me honor; but some letters I have sent to New York have been imprudently printed there in the News, which coming back here may give offence, and thereby weaken my interest. I have much money locked up in America. To you, as a friend, I may say £50,000, that more business like that circulates would only embarrass me. If I can be publicly useful in the last stage of life, it will be a peculiar pleasure to me. I have pursued your affairs with all my might, and think myself very happy that I introduced the Congress Petition before the House without offending the Ministry, notwithstanding the Congress itself was deemed illegal, which had its full weight by Mr. Pitt's taking it up, and declared that the greatest defect he saw in it was that one of the petitioners' name was "OLIVER:"¹ but Denny wrote you the affair at large as I had not time. But I have wrote you several letters from time to time, which, as they are received will relieve you. *Though when you are warmed with gratitude, be not so forward in raising money on any occasion but that of a new war, which, in my opinion, may not be at a great distance.* We have every year such encroachments and broils about the Fishery. I thank you for your hint about Nova Scotia. It is in general a bleak, barren country, but shall judge of that when you write more fully on that head. I wish in return I had influence enough in America to procure you a good Agency, for it is generally thought your friend Mr. (Jackson) will resign. You shall have the advice, weight, and influence of

Yours truly,

D. DE BERDT.²

¹ Oliver Partridge, a member of the Stamp Act Congress from Massachusetts.² W. B. Reed's Life of Esther De Berdt, pp. 77-79.

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

ENFIELD. Aug^t 5th, 1766.

MY LORD

I last night rec^d your obliging Favour with M^r Buell's Narrative,¹ which I will return your Lordship by the Penny Post tomorrow, for since I had the Honour of Waiting on your Lordship Two other Friends have sent me one;

Your mentioning the Care you took of the Boston address is very obliging, and gives me hopes you was not in the Kings Closet to Resign, as well, and gives me Hopes you will not, for the Eyes of all the Children of God in America are (under God) on you, and you have their Prayers as well as thanks, and I hope no little matter will prevail on you to Decline Serving them still, tho you cannot Do it in the Effectual manner you wish, some times patient Perseverance obtains an End, a hasty measure cannot, To the Guidance and ynfluence of the Divine Emanuel I would committ you, who is never at a Loss to Compass his own ends tho we often are.

Sur it must be a misinformation that Boston has *refused*² to make the Satisfaction the Parliament Recommend^d it must be only *a Delay* I will write to the Speaker on the Head by the Packett on Saturday and a Ship that goes tomorrow for I think the thing so Equitable and Reasonable I should be ashamed the Assembly I have the Honour to Represent should Refuse it, and as they are Professors of Religion every one looks for their Halting, and indeed they should do more than others.

Nor is it Complying with the Terms of their address. I have also Rec^d since I saw you the Anexd Letter of Judge Smith, by which you will see that Province also Wants a Prudent Friend, however the Religious State of things will give Your Lordship Pleasure under all your Toils Tc contribute to which in the Remotest manner will afford great satisfaction to

My Lord

Your Lordships obedient Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.³¹ See p. 323, above.² See p. 322, above.³ Dartmouth MSS.

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

ENFIELD, Aug^t 22^d 1766.

MY LORD

Your Condescending and obliging Favour of the 13th¹ fills me with fresh Concern, (and that Concern will run throughout America) at your Lordships Resignation, as it Discovers that Paternal affection which America must not expect from a Stepmother.

Your Sentiments of that People are exceeding Just, and the sound Principles of Religion & Government of those with whom I have been Connected, do certainly entertain; has greatly Endeared me to that Country, and I am satisfied had your Lordships Connection with them been longer, & more Intimate, it would have further engaged your Attention, and would have given your Lordship a high Satisfaction, to see Religion and Liberty Flourishing under your auspicious Influence; and it gives me a Pleasure to be the Medium of conveying to You the Gratefull Sentiments the House of Representatives, (on the Behalf of that Province)² Testifie to your Lordship; and Several other of their Patrons (as far as they have come to their Knowledge) by a Vote of their Assembly which accompanies this, and by their Letter to me that attended it plainly Discover their Duty and affection to their King, and Mother Country; which will ever be growing, and increasing, while a Paternal Care & Authority is exercised over the whole Famely.

The only quietting Consideration, is, as your Lordship Hints, that the Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth, and I cannot but hope in his own way, and time, Your Lords^p will be placed by Providence, in a Station to serve America in which they will Rejoice; and to which you have no Aversion; *and he that Believeth must not make haste.*

My last Accounts from America give me Concern, as they Inform me of the Declining State of President Finly of the Jersey Colledge, (the only Colledge where Vital Religion is Regarded) who is hardly in our World. it being apprehended his Liver is grown to his Side, which he could not many Days survive: but if the Government of the World is on those sholders which is well able to sustain the Weight, the Church shall not be neglected, by Him whose Care over, and Compassion for his

¹ Dartmouth's letter of August 13, 1766, is printed in W. B. Reed's Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, i. 46-47.

² Massachusetts. On June 20, 1766, the Massachusetts House voted their thanks to various persons, among them Shelburne, Dartmouth, and George Cooke (Journals, pp. 108-109). Cushing's letter to De Berdt of June 28 is printed in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 14-16.

Church is Infinite, his Power uncontroulable, and whose Grace is abundant; and can furnish Supplys, and Instruments for his Service unknown to, and unthought of by us.

Wishing Your Lordship Health in your Retirement from the Hurries of the Court and much of the Presence of God to sweeten every Enjoyment I am

My Lord

Your Lordships obed^t Humble servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.

P. S. I dont find the Petition of the House which You comitted to the Care of the Duke of Richmond in the Gazette tho there is that of the Governoour and Councill, and that of the Jerseys, I hope his Grace in his Hurry did not forgett to Deliver it which would have an unfavourable Aspect on the Assembly, when they really were exemplary in their Zeal for a Priority of Duty and affection.¹

DE BERDT TO —————

LONDON October 2^d 1766

SIR

On the other side is Copy of my last to which Please to Refer I have since Recived from Lord Shelburne his thanks to your Assembly for the Respectfull Vote of your House which I Deliverd him, which is Inclosed with this

Sir

Hour obed Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT²

[Endorsed]

Letter from D^s de Berdt

2^d Oct. 1766

DE BERDT'S MEMORIAL TO LORD SHELBOURNE

TO THE RIGHT HONBLE LORD SHELBOURNE ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES PRINCIPLE SECRETARIES OF STATE, THE MEMORIAL OF DENNYS DE BERDT AGENT FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Humbly Sheweth

That the said Colony duly Observes, & are thankfull for, the great tenderness & concern, the present & late Ministry have discoverd for the

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This letter is printed in part in W. B. Reed's Life of Esther De Berdt, pp. 89-90.

² Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 517. Pages 515-516 contain a copy of De Berdt's letter to Cushing of September 19, 1766. See pp. 325-326, above.

interest of that Colony. & the ample Testimony they have given of their readiness to releive them of every Burden relating to their Commercial Interest, induces them to make the following Representation of the Embarrassments which at present attend their Trade

Your Mem^{ist} humbly begs leave to represent to your L^{dsp} several things contained in his Instructions the Restriction of the Trade to the Sugar Islands & the heavy Duty imposed on foreign Sugars, will destroy our Navigation & fishery & will prevent any but the finest sorts, being Imported into Am & thereby give the french the advantage of Manafacturing them

The deeming all Sugars imported from the Continent, french, prevents a valuable return to G B for her Manufactures

The great care of the Officers in America in Loading Vessels there, makes it needless for those Vessels to call & unload at G B. occasions so large an expence, as entirely to distroy that trade

The Multiplicity of Bonds, occasions an Expence equal to the first cost of the Lumber & some of them are twelve months before they are Cancelld

Another Grievance is the unlimitted power of the Officer to carry the Vessel he seizes into what port he pleases on the Continent, & after Miscarring in a tedious process is liable to no Cost

Your Memor' Constituents further observe, that in those ports were a regular Customhouse is settled the Naval Officer may be removed.

Another dificulty is on their trade, to Spain & Portugal by the ships from thence, being obliged to stop in Eng^d by which fruit & other perishable Comodities are liable to be spoiled, by the lenght of the Voyage

But the grand matter of Complaint is the Restraint laid on their fishery no Americans being suffered to take Cod in the Streights of Belisle or on Lobradore shore, & thereby rendering our new Watery acquisitions entirely useless, & the Restraint itself be attended with a very large Expence, & Instead of endeavouring to make the most of that extensive fishery, it is become a Scene of Violence between the Europeans & Americans — the Interruption of the fishery is weakening our Naval power, & depriving the Americans, of the most Valuable Source for taking off & paying for the Manafacturs of G B

Your Memor^t takes the Liberty to lay before your L^{dsp} A few Sentiments relating to the fishery — that enexhaustable fund of Riches & power to G B, this valuable treasure may be viewed in a twofold light, As a Nursery for Seamen, & as occasioning a Consumption of & affording means to pay for our Manafactures

The fishery carried on from G B to America may produce a Number of Seamen for the speedy maning a fleet, the N E fishery in the Streights of Belisle &c is absolutely necessary, for furnishing sailors either for the recruit of the Cruize, or acting offencively in America, as it is remarkably evident they did, when the forces of Amer without any assistance from home took the strong fortress of Cape Breton, & therefore they are as realy necessary as the European supplies

The other View of the fishery, is its being a Source of Riches, nay an enexhaustable Source, exceeding the Mines of Mexico & Peru, to lay any Restraint upon it in this View, is diminishing the National Treasures, stinting the growth of the Colonies, & the greatest disadvantage to the Manafacturs of G B restraints that are laid upon it are of that nature, that Your Memorialist apprehends they will not be fully Removed, but by an Act of Parliament, to Explain that of William 3^d and give free liberty to all British Subjects to improve the fishery to the utmost, which greatly Strengthin our Naval power

Your Memorialist Constituents, have such an Opinion of the Justice & Wisdom of the present Administration that they doubt not it will appear reasonable to them & that as soon as these greivances are made known they will be redressed¹

[Endorsed]

Memorial
To L^d Shelburne
1767
D'Berdt about fisheries

DE BERDT'S MEMORIAL TO LORD SHELBOURNE²

MY LORD

It is now received as an universal proposition, that the Strength, Riches & Influence of Great Britain, depend upon Commerce; whatever therefore diminishes our Commerce must enfeeble & weaken our national Influence.

Our Commerce, has been greatly curtail'd in most parts of Europe and we have therefore, only, our Connections with America to trust to, as the Source of our Strength, Riches & Felicity: hence every thing that interrupts & weakens the mutual Confidence (which has been re-

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society. Printed in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 44-46. Perhaps drawn up in the fall of 1767: see p. 453, below.

² This memorial, though without precise date, must have been written early in 1767: see De Berdt's letters of February 14 and March 9, 1767, pp. 450-451, below.

markable for a hundred years past) between Great Britain & her Colonies, must enfeeble the Strength & diminish the Riches of the Mother Country.

The advantages to be drawn from our American Colonies, must arise; not from Taxes of any kind; but from extending our Trade. — Whatever Measures straiten & cramp our Trade, can never be compensated by any Taxation; nor can any thing be an equivalent, for the decay of that mutual Harmony & friendly intercourse which are the necessary Cement of our Trade with them.

So deep a Scar was made by the late Stamp act, as is not entirely heal'd; making any fresh Wounds, in our commerce, if persisted in must, unavoidably occasion painfull Sensations, not only in America, but in Great Britain, and be felt, not merely by the Merchants, but with every Manufacturer with whom they are connected; and no one corner of the Kingdom will escape the banefull Influence.

To put any difficulties on the American Trade, will inevitably, lessen our exports to that Country, from their inability to pay y^e Merchant for the Manufactures imported by them, which inability must be the same, whether the people in America resolve to take goods or not.

Governors & Judges, being independent on the people, must render the course of Justice, precarious, will be a farther discouragement to Trade, & raise fresh in the Minds of the Americans, the Evils that attended such a measure when their fore Fathers left their native Country.

When the Merchants dare no longer venture their Substance on such uncertainties; the Americans will be under the necessity of useing their own Manufactures: tho' contrary to their present Taste & Inclination: to prevent them pursuing this only resource & remedy, must be the most manifest Injustice; & as absurd, as to make a Law, obligeing them to go naked.

The only methods to secure our mutual Interests, and effectually prevent the Americans going into Manufactures, must be to encourage the cultivating their Lands, and extending their Commerce, and thereby enable them to pay for the various Merchandizes of Great Britain, which at present lie on hand for want of a Market, and will leave thousands of our Poor unemployed, ripe for Tumult & Confusion.

I submit to Your Lordship's superior Judgment, if any Sum of Money, raised by Taxes, can compensate the Evils which must inevitably follow discourageing a Trade to the amount of Two Millions a year & which employs a hundred thousand Hands, who are already in the greatest distress thro' the dearness of Provisions; and whose Miseries before

the Winter is out, may make them Desperate; as well as losing the Confidence & Esteem of two Millions of the most Loyal Subjects in his Majesties Dominions; and whose Affection to their Mother Country is strong & natural.

I am Your Lordship's
most Obedient Humble Servant
DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[*Endorsed*]

M^r De Berdt to the E. of Shelburne, 1767. On the trade with America.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

[February 14, 1767]

SIR

Since my receiving your judicious, pertinent and decent Representation of the Difficulties your Trade laboured under, I have had several Conferences with Lord SHELBOURNE on the Subject of it, who has been so obliging as to direct me to lay the Case before him, in Form of a Memorial, with which his own Secretary will attend me to the Board of Trade, and has promis'd his Interest to serve you, which Memorial now lays before his Lordship — The Restraints laid on the Fishery will be remov'd.

The Government are about to call Home the Troops from America, and place others in their Room. The preparing for the Embarking of which has occasioned much Speculation here, and the Report runs that there are fresh Troops going to America, which occasioned my particular Application to Lord SHELBOURNE on that Head, who was so condescending and obliging as to assure me, I might satisfy all my Friends that there was no Intention of augmenting the Forces in America, but a mere Exchange.²

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This memorial was printed in 1768 by Sayre in his Englishman deceived, etc., Salem, pp. 30–32, where it is dated "January, 1768;" and also in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 46–48.

² Boston Gazette, April 27, 1767, p. 3/1. This letter is preceded in the Gazette by the following:

By the February Packet a Letter has been received from DENNYS DE BERDT, Esq; directed to the Speaker of the late House of Representatives, and dated the 14th of February last — As the Minds of many Persons are disturb'd with Apprehensions that the Ministry and the Parliament are displeas'd with the Representations lately sent Home by the House, and that we are to be punish'd with Troops to keep us in Order, we have obtain'd an Extract of the Letter, which we now publish for the Information and Comfort of the good People of the Province.

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON MERCHANTS

LONDON March 9: 1767

GENTLⁿ

I duly received your obliging favour of the 17 Jan^y accompanying a Petition to the House of Commons, which I shall Tomorrow lay before Lord Shelburn as I have done the former representation of your house, by way of memorial several weeks agoe and as he is so good a friend to America shall take his advice which way to proceed

The New York Petition had some warm expressⁿ which gave offence to the House & the Petition was orderd to lay on the Table

The advantages you represent are very obvious but weither at this Time, you can be so fully relieved I cannot determine, but you may depend no Zeal nor Caution on my part shall be wanting & am with real esteem

Your obedient Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT¹

To the Committee of
Merchants at Boston

[Addressed]

To

The Comitte of Merchants
In
Boston

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON MERCHANTS

LONDON Mar. 14. 1767

GENTLEMEN

I yesterday waited on Lord Shelburne with your Petition, to take his advice in the Affair, and as nothing can be carried without his weight and influence & as a friend to America he cou'd not advise me to push it just at this juncture, when the Enemies of America are so numerous, and the House very much offended at the Conduct of New York, which is to be, in a formal manner, brought before the House on Tuesday, and will occasion a great deal of debate — Several of the Complaints you make are already relieved, particularly the Restriction of the Trade to Ireland, which you had not heard when your Petition was sent — Your Grievances were very well stated and decently expressed, but I am fully

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society.

satisfied, there is nothing can be done at present, but I wait a more favourable opportunity, which I shall not fail to embrace

The article of the fishery, which is of the greatest importance, Lord Shelburne promises me to take under his peculiar inspection, and will exactly examine Govern^r Palliser's ¹ instructions, that nothing to your prejudice may be inserted, unless your fishermen run into an illicit Trade with the french, which the Ministry are justly determined to suppress, which shou'd be matter of caution to every fishing Vessel

I have had several Conversations, by Lord Shelburn's Order, with Governor Palliser, and he promised me strictly to adhere to Orders, and execute them with the greatest Lenity, which its evident he did not do the last year; but he is now under the immediate inspection of that Noble Lord, who assures me, he has the prosperity of the fishery at Heart, and will do every thing in his power to promote it. He really appears to be a warm friend to America, and deserves your gratitude and confidence. I shall endeavour to see my Lord again, before Governor Palliser sails, to engage him in the strict examination of the Governor's Orders, which he has promised to make

I am with great esteem

Gentlemen

Your Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT ²

[Addressed]

To

The Committ^e of Merchants

at

Boston

N E

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Sept^r 3, 1767

THOMAS CUSHING Esq^R

S^r

I had the Honor of yours of 3^d July giving me an account of the Votes past in your House for granting me £300, which I since hear the Govern^r has not confirmed — I am obliged to the House for this Instance of their Respect & when Noted to me in form I shall return them a regular answer, your chearfulness in serving the Troops is an evidence of your

¹ Sir Hugh Palliser (1723–1796), Governor of Newfoundland.

² Massachusetts Historical Society.

Loyalty & duty to his Majesty, which I shall not fail to represent as I have opportunity & am

Your mo: obed^t hum: Serv^t

DENNYS DE BERDT¹

DE BERDT TO ——

LONDON 21^t of oct^r 1767

SIR,

I have the honour of your Letter from the House, and with regard to the affair of the Fishery; I had made application for removing your greivances before I rec^d this your Letter from the House, and as I have heard no complaints this Season I flatter myself the Effort was not fruitless.

I was well apprised how happily you were releived from the late difficulties of a paper currency and the contentment the sensible part of your Province experience in having a solid Medium to have even recommended a change from a good & solid Coin to a precarious & pernicious currency. and whenever is under consideration. I shall act agreeable to the precautions in your Letter.

The Limits of the Colonies whenever any disputes arise about them are always refer'd to the Board of Trade and the Lords of Trade according to the evidence produced report the same to the King & Council: so that I can do nothing in the Matter as Agent of the Province untill my appointment under the Seal of the Province is register'd at that Board: which would also give me additional weight in every other application.

I am with the highest Esteem yours and
the House's devoted Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT²

DE BERDT TO JOSEPH REED

OCTOBER 21, 1767.

I carried Mr. Sayre to Lord Shelburne, on his arrival, where he saw Mr. Morgan.³ . . . The Ministry give us the strongest assurance that they will never injure the liberties of America, whatever mistakes they may be led into by designing people. . Lord Shelburne intends to have

¹ Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 525.

² Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 534-535.

³ Maurice Morgann (1726-1802).

me with him in a few days to make some inquiry, &c., into your affairs, the result of which I shall venture to communicate to you, who are too prudent to make private conversation public.¹

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON May 16th 1768

SIR

Since my last I received your several Letters which I delivered as directed & at Lord Shelburnes desire sent him your Judicious observations on British Liberty which sentiments are exactly my own, but have not been admitted to converse with his Lordship on that head, nor has he return'd me the papers.

It is at present a time of great confusion, the heats & animosities of Electing new Members of Parliament are not yet subsided, universal discontent on account of the dearness of provision spreads itself throughout the Kingdom & will take up the whole attention of the Legislature, that I dont apprehend anything will be done in American affairs, however you may rely on my watching, the most favorable opportunity to throw in your petition, which at present will be by no means proper.

It gives me concern as the prosperity of America in conjunction with her Mother Country lies near the heart of

Sir

Your most Obed & hum^e Serv^tDENNYS DE BERDT²

[Addressed]

To

Tho^s Cushing Esq^r.
Speaker of the hon^{ble} House of
Representatives
Boston

p^r packet

[Endorsed]

De Berdt's Letter
May 14. 1768

¹ W. B. Reed's Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 121.

² Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 516-517. Printed in Massachusetts State Papers, p. 142.

The letters and documents in Massachusetts Papers are inaccurately printed. Copies of such as are also printed in our text have been obtained from the originals in the Massachusetts Historical Society. See p. 296 note 2, above.

DE BERDT'S REMARKS

REMARKS.

I. **A**S no man, nor body of men, is endued with perfect wisdom; it cannot be deemed an impeachment of the wisdom of Parliament, to point out the evils that may be experienced from any law it has made, presuming always, that as such a consequence was totally abhorrent from the intention of those who enacted it, so it must be the strongest motive for its repeal. We are fully justified in this, by knowing that Parliament has frequently repealed its own Acts, from such a sense of their imperfections; in which it certainly manifested its wisdom as much as its justice. For next to avoiding error, it is the greatest proof of wisdom to retract from it when unavoidably incurred.

No stronger proof can be produced of the impropriety of any Law, than the universal discontent which its operation excites among those whom it affects. Neither can there exist a more persuasive reason in policy or in justice for its being repealed.

Let us apply this reasoning to the late Laws concerning *America*.

[16] Our wise forefathers drew a line between the supreme legislative power of the Mother-Country and the constitutional rights of her Colonies, as free-born *English Subjects*. That line, though it trenched upon the full liberties of a free people, did not sap the fundamental principles of *British Liberty*. It limited and restrained the commerce of the Colonies to the emolument of the Mother-Country. But the internal regulation of the state, and especially that great and all-securing privilege of disposing of their property, acquired within those commercial limitations, by their own consent only, was left untouched. Happy within this line, the Colonies grew strong, and flourished in themselves, becoming at the same time the sources of opulence and strength to *Britain*. They were truly arrows in the quiver of the Mother-Country, with which she might meet her enemy in the gate without fear. Loyalty to the Crown of *Great Britain*, and the most cordial affection to the people, flowed from *America* to this country for near two centuries, in one golden and uninterrupted stream. History does not contain a single instance of general disaffection or disloyalty in the Colonies, from their first settlement to the conclusion of the late War.

Such was the state of *America*: how shall we bear to see what is the state of that people?

In the year 1764, the Parliament of *England* first declared its determination to pass that line, [17] and grant to his Majesty a revenue out

of the property of his *American Subjects*: This declaration was immediately drawn into execution by certain duties laid for the purpose of raising a revenue. And since that time, hardly a year has passed without some Law or Regulation for the Colonies, grounded on that declaration.

This is the fact; — But what has been the consequence of this measure? From one end of the Continent to the other *universal discontent*. Their discontent vented itself at first in the most pathetic complaints; and from complaints they proceeded to the most alarming actions. Till at length, one aggravating measure succeeding another, they are brought at this time to a state that threatens the fundamental principles of commercial connection between us; and the total loss of every benefit derived from it.

Such being the consequences of the whole system of *American Laws* and *Regulations* since the period I have mentioned, will any honest man say it is not *bad*? will any wise man say it is not to be *retracted*? Can it be a small injury that has inflamed and irritated, almost to an appeal to heaven, a whole people, hitherto untainted with disloyalty, untroubled with commotions, and unalterable in their affections for their fellow-subjects of this country? Could any but the most violent causes produce such violent effects as have [18] drawn from the throne here the charge of being little less than rebellion, and threaten the total destruction of our *American commerce*? Surely, it were as wise to suppose, that the gentlest breath of wind would work the calm surface of the ocean into raging billows; as that the rooted loyalty and attachment of *America*, can have been shaken thus, but by grievances real in themselves and deeply felt.

The danger then that impends from the present universal discontent and inflamed state of *America*, arising from these causes, is great; but happily it may be avoided with ease. Remove the cause, and the effects will cease; abolish the whole system of *American Laws* and *Regulations* since 1764, restore them to the state in which the wisdom of our fore-fathers placed them, and to the good policy of which two centuries have given their most ample approbation. This is the method, and I will venture to say the only method, of re-establishing the peace of *America* and the peace of *Great Britain*. The *Americans* are content to be *sub-ordinate*; but they never will submit to be *enslaved*. It is not a time for trying expedients, there is not a temper in *America* to be played with; there is no alternative, dreadful as it may seem, but to exterminate her inhabitants or restore to them the violated rights of free-men. Let humanity, let justice, let wisdom determine, which measure shall be pursued.

[19] Had there been any necessity for innovating on the former Con-

stitution of the Colonies, the innovation should have been modelled by wisdom and justice.

For, as Mr. *Hume* wisely observes on government in general, "to tamper in this affair, or to try projects merely upon the credit of supposed argument and philosophy, can never be the part of a wise Magistrate, who will bear a reverence to what carries the marks of age: And though he may attempt some improvements for the public good, yet will he adjust his innovations, as much as possible to the *ancient fabric*, and preserve entire the chief pillars and supports of the constitution."

What are the fruits of this *American* project, is but too manifest. Alarm, discontent, resolutions in vindication of their rights, associations to redress them by breaking off all commerce with the Mother-Country, and an evident determination to appeal to heaven rather than submit to this new-exerted authority. Are there any probable benefits held out to us by the Advocates for this System, adequate to the risk we run, the loss we incur, and the miseries we are to occasion? Certainly there are not. They flatter our prejudices, raise our jealousies, and excite our indignation; but neither these passions nor these Counsellors will ever teach us to remedy the evils, which they may prompt [20] us to bring both upon *America* and upon ourselves.

II. In whatever light the people of *America* view the late system of government devised for them, it appears full fraught with danger and oppression. Their Governors and Judges being there *during pleasure*, are totally dependent for their places on the crown, and might become the instruments of any arbitrary measures, were they not restrained by depending on the representatives of the people for their Salaries. It is one object of the Revenue to be raised upon *America*, without their consent, to absolve them from this popular dependence by annexing stipends to their offices. The crown would then be in the uncontrouled possession both of the whole executive and judicial powers, and in effect of the legislative. For the people being deprived essentially of their share in the legislative, by being divested of the right of *giving* their own money through their Representatives, would be absolutely at the mercy of the crown, without one controuling power or constitutional security. If this be not alarming to a people hitherto in possession of this security, and justly sensible of the benefits they derived from it; what can be so, or what farther deprivation of liberty can they possibly suffer, who submit to this? And can we with any sense of justice censure them for contending against it; especially if we find the [21] very same reasons, as was most certainly the case, to have governed us in taking arms against

the meditated tyranny of *Charles* the first? It was then that the people of this country obtained the security of having the Judges appointed during good behaviour, which they would resign with as much reluctance as the *Americans* do that which supplies its place, the right of voting their Salaries.

It were much to be wished, that the recent instance of an *American* Governor, had not given too just a foundation for the apprehension expressed in this Letter, that a dangerous credit might be given to the representations of Crown-Officers in *America*, and the Nation here led into destructive mistakes by their misrepresentations.

III. One would imagine that the offering such a reason for this unusual method of raising money was done in derision of even common sense, and common justice. For could ever this reason be urged with less propriety, than after a War in which the Colonies had granted supplies for these very purposes, with a readiness and zeal which involved them in a great and most distressing debt; and had actually drawn from Parliament a grant of money as some compensation for the excessive burdens they had sustained. Was this a time at which they could bear to be insulted with a suspicion of not being willing to provide for their own security, protection and defence; and upon that [22] suspicion divested of their ancient and essential rights?

From the commencement to the end of the late War, the assemblies of the Colonies contributed to its support largely and chearfully, both in men and money. They shared in all its hardships, in all its expences: they expected that the Peace, which crowned a glorious and successful, though expensive War, would leave them in security. How great then was their surprize to find their liberties taken from them, under a pretence of providing for that very security, which they had flattered themselves was established by eight years prodigal effusion of their blood and treasure? Whoever will consider how severely such an attempt must have operated on the minds of men, yet bleeding from the wounds, and groaning under the expences incurred by their loyalty and zeal in supporting the war; will not wonder at the flame that burst forth in consequence of it, through all his Majesty's *American* dominions? they felt themselves mortally injured, and they resented it as a free people will ever do, with violence and rage. More temper in representing their grievances was certainly desirable; but in such circumstances, it was more to be desired than expected.

At this time, when the most daring and fatal violations are offered to the liberty of the subject here unimpeached and unpunished; it is not won-[23]derful that the same Ministers should have made the most

flagrant invasions on the constitutions in *America*, with equal impunity. But either the people, by tamely bearing these injuries, must sink into the most abject bondage, or the day of inquiry must soon arrive. When that comes, *They* will answer at their peril who have advised his Majesty to set up a *standing Army in America above the controul of all civil authority.** In the mean time I will venture to pronounce it impeachable matter, as well in behalf of the *State* as in behalf of the *Person* of his Majesty, which is more sacred in his *civil*, than in his *military* capacity.

IV. The Commission here alluded to, is formed in the most arbitrary mould, that the most tyrannous times could invent. That too, is to be hoped, will be a subject of future inquiry, and redress. But what I would particularly, at this time, offer to the attention of the public, is the extreme abuse and imposition that has been thrown upon them, by the advisers and abettors of this [24] scheme of taxation; for carrying which into execution, this Board of Commissioners, with all the most arbitrary powers, was established.

The Tax has been regularly collected through *America*. I assert this, not only from a knowledge of the fact, but from the acknowledgement of the Ministerial People in the H——e of C——s. Yet from the Accounts laid before the House, last Session, the whole produce of the Tax, which in its effects is attended with so many dangerous consequences to the peace of *America*, and the Commerce of *Great Britain*, is not a fraction to the public. They have contrived to appropriate the whole produce of this Revenue, to the maintainance of a crew of Officers. A set of Caitiff wretches, who, in league with the Incendiary of *America*, are endeavouring by every possible misrepresentation to incite this country to persevere in measures from which they are to derive their incomes, by the misery and ruin of millions. It is to the informations of these interested men, that some people pretend there is officially a credit due. As if an interest to deceive were an earnest of sincerity; and truth were to be despised, because it came not from the Servants of the Crown.

Now can any thing be more criminal, than to endeavour to persuade men, that the support of this barren Tax, at all events, is necessary to

* As it has been denied that the military were set above the controul of the civil authority, the reader is referred for the truth of it, to the following Answer to a Message from the House of Representatives of *Massachuset's-Bay*, dated May 31, 1769.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have no authority over his Majesty's Ships in this port, or his Troops within "this Town."

"FRANCIS BERNARD.

maintain the supremacy of this Nation over her disaffected [25] Colonies, and to alleviate the burden of the national debt, under which she groans? When the undeniable fact is, that there subsists no disaffection in *America*; nor can any alleviation be drawn from a Revenue, which is totally consumed by the Officers who collect it. Nor, were the produce to increase seventy-fold, is it probable the public would reap from it the least benefit; because the Commissioners are *strangely* empowered to create as many Officers as they may think proper, and appoint them what salaries they please out of the Revenue. So that it may well be presumed, they will increase their Officers, and augment their Salaries, in proportion to the fertility of the Revenue. Though it must be confessed, there is little probability of its increasing.

V. Nothing can be more certain, than that without the intervention of the legislative, the executive government, unless it were military, could not exist in the Colonies. Therefore they who have devised this new System, either act without a plan, or they mean to change the old form, modelled by the free principles of the *British Constitution*, into an absolute military Government. And it is the duty of every honest man, *to use his utmost efforts, and offer up his most earnest prayers to heaven, that they may never succeed.*

I have observed in the commencement of these REMARKS, that nothing but an abolition of the [26] system adopted in the 4th year of his present Majesty, can regain the affections of the People of *America*, retrieve our Commerce, and recal that confidence in the honour, wisdom and justice of *Great Britain*, which is essentially necessary to the subordination of one free People to another. This opinion I mean expressly to repeat, and that I may be perfectly understood, I must beg the reader's attention to the following enumeration of their grievances, arising from that system, which, to compose this ruinous contention, must be fully redressed.

First, The having their Property given away without their participation or consent, as by the Acts of the 4th GEO. III. ch. 15. the 6th GEO. III. ch. 18. the 7th GEO. III. ch. 46.

Secondly, The introduction of the odious and arbitrary powers of *Excise*, into the *Customs of America*; as in 7th GEO. III. ch. 41. for enabling his Majesty to establish a Board of Commissioners in *America*, with what powers he pleased; and in the 5th GEO. III. ch. 15. with the 8th GEO. III. ch. 22. for erecting Vice-Admiralty Courts in *America*, making all causes of Revenue triable in them, either by original process, or by appeal, without Jury, and under the decision of a dependent Party-Judge.

[27] *Thirdly,* His Majesty's Commission to the *American Board of Commissioners*, which lays open the subject's House to the will and pleas-

ure of them and their Servants; without warrant upon oath, or the intervention of the civil magistrate.

Fourthly, Taking from the Assemblies of *America* all freedom of debate and determination, by the Act of 7th GEO. III. ch. 59. for suspending the legislative power of *New-York*.

Fifthly, Attempting to extend to *America* an obsolete and arbitrary Act of *Henry VIII.* for trial of Treason and Misprisions of Treason, by which the Subject there would be deprived of the fair trial to which he is entitled both by common and statute Law of the Land; and exposed to the most grievous exertions of tyranny and injustice.

Whoever will consider these Grievances, will perceive how impossible it is that any People impressed with the least sense of constitutional Liberty, should ever patiently submit to bear them. Their tendency is too evident; and the total subversion of every right and security derived from that sacred Constitution for which our Ancestors fought and conquered, is too undeniable a consequence of them, to leave any *American* in doubt whether in this case, *Submission and Slavery* are the same.

[28] If the Commerce with *America* is of any value to *Great Britain*; if the Rights of Humanity are interesting; if the Introduction of absolute Government into so great a part of the united empire is dangerous to the liberties of the rest; then I will venture to say, the cause of *America* is the common cause of every friend to Liberty and to Humanity throughout the King's Dominions; and that the People of this Country are moved by every consideration of virtue and of wisdom, to espouse a cause, in the issue of which their feelings as men, their commercial interests, and the Principles of their Constitution, are so deeply concerned.

F I N I S .¹

¹ Extract of a Letter, etc., London, 1770, pp. 15-28.

In his letter to Wheelock of August 31, 1761, De Berdt said:

Since I wrote to you I have mett the society and also writ to Scotland to the committee there and they seem resolved to support Mr. Occom's mission £20 a year. and will propose it to the society who meet in Nov. and I hope to gett it allowed from Michaelmas (p. 420, above).

The word printed "writ" was, in the copy of the letter furnished me, spelled "wn't;" but an appeal to Mr. Rugg brought the information that the word is really "writ." In his History of Dartmouth College, Chase remarks:

Mr. De Berdt also, besides being very active in London, made a journey to Scotland, where he obtained in 1761 a direct appropriation from the Scotch society of £20 for Occom (i. 27).

As there is nothing in De Berdt's letters to indicate that he "made a journey to Scotland," it is possible that Chase misread the word commented upon in the letter of August 31, 1761.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited two medals recently given to Harvard College, of which one had belonged to Charles Chase of the Class of 1813 and the other had been struck to commemorate the bicentennial of the University of Utrecht in 1836.

The Rev. HENRY A. PARKER called attention to a curious article on the Washingtons written by Professor Bernard J. Cigrand, which appeared in the New York Sunday Times of 19 February last.

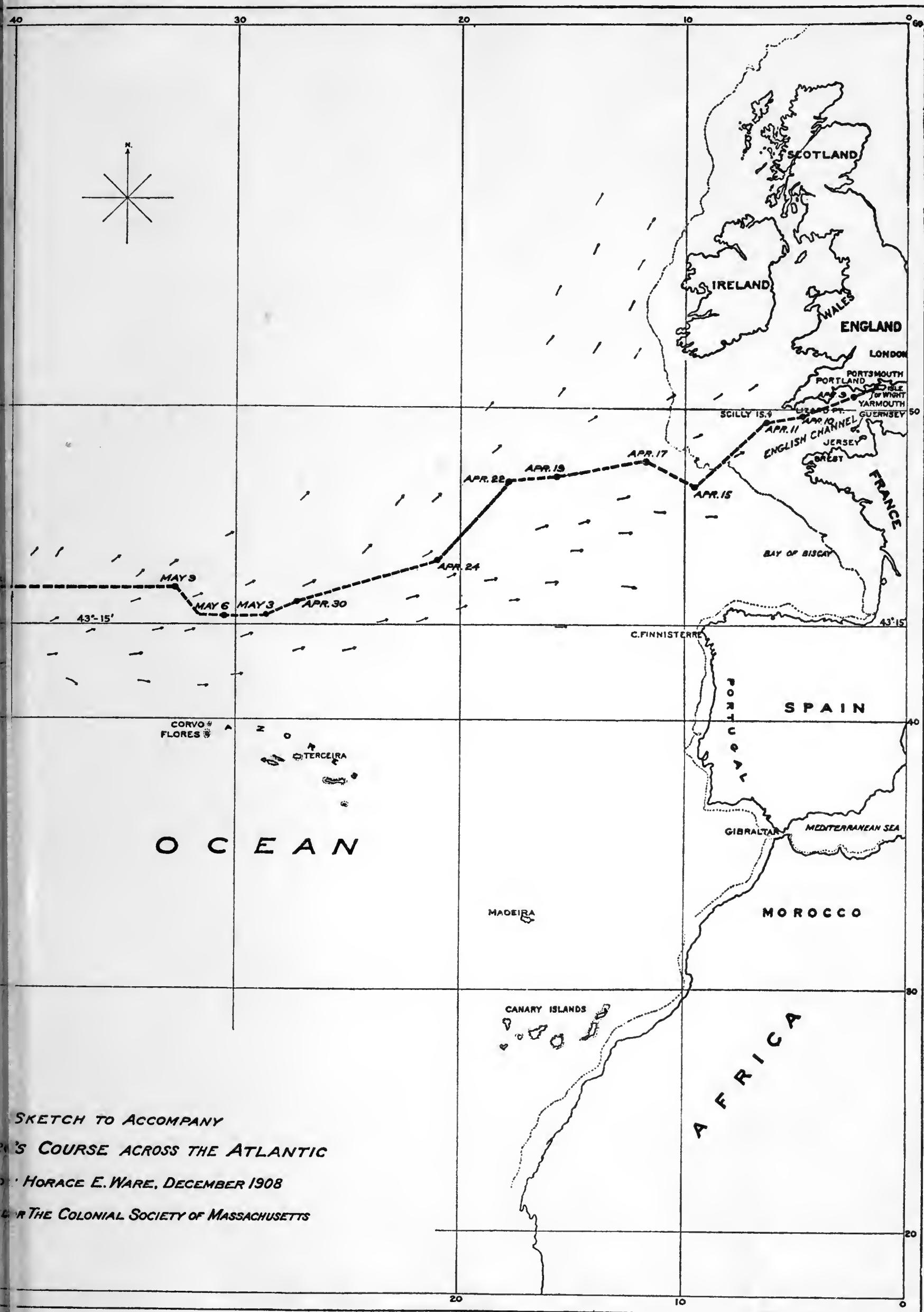
NOTE

Mr. Horace E. Ware's paper on Winthrop's Course across the Atlantic fills pages 191-203 of Volume XII, just published. Between pages 190-191 there should have been inserted a Sketch of Winthrop's Course across the Atlantic. No sooner had the volume been distributed than it was found that, by an unfortunate oversight, some copies lacked this plate. Impressions were immediately sent to those whose volumes lacked it. The Sketch is also inserted here.

APRIL, 1911.









V A T O

CROWNED SOCIETY TO ACCOMPLISH

ROUTE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

OCTOBER 25, 1908

CROWNED SOCIETY OF INDEPENDENCE

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